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By Walter M. Horton

The Missionary Message Since Madras
By Henry P. Van Dusen

Portrait of an Internationalist *By Julius Seelye Bixler*

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By Luis Alberto Sánchez

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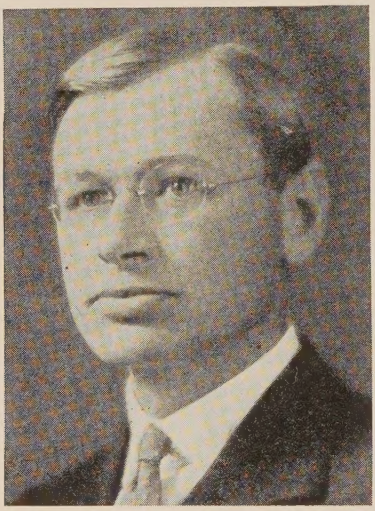
PERSONALIA

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

WALTER MARSHALL HORTON, professor of theology in Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, is a Harvard A.B., a Union



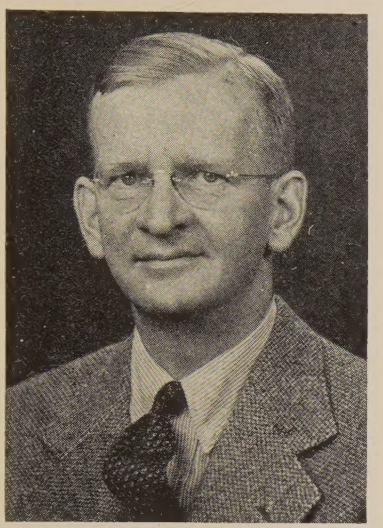
WALTER MARSHALL HORTON

Seminary B.D., and a Columbia Ph.D., who also studied at the Sorbonne in Paris, at Strassburg and Marburg. He has a long series of books to his credit, distinguished not only for clarity of thought but for unusual concreteness, based as they have been on first-hand studies of theological trends in many lands. Among Dr. Horton's maturer works are *Realistic Theology* (1934), *Contemporary English Theology* (1936), *Contemporary Continental Theology* (1938), and *The Growth of Religion* (with Henry N. Wieman) (1938). He made important contributions to the Oxford Conference Symposium entitled *The Christian Understanding of Man* (1938), and to the post-Madras volume, *The Authority of the Faith* (1929). His influence in contemporary thought is evidenced by several of our recent issues. John Bennett reviewed his last major book, *Our Eternal Contemporary* (1942), in our Spring, 1943, issue. Dr. Horton's latest book, *Theology in Transition*, is reviewed on page 123 of this issue. It is a Horton near-omnibus, combining the early book, *A Psychological Approach to Religion*, and *Realistic Theology*. Dr. Horton's article in the present issue is his presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the American Theological Society, 1943, a meeting entirely devoted to a discussion of the place of Natural Law in Christian thought. The article lays broad foundations for Christian action in world reconstruction, in collaboration with constructive forces in all cultures, especially those of the Orient.

HENRY PITNEY VAN DUSEN

HENRY PITNEY VAN DUSEN has been professor of systematic theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York, since

1935. Born in Philadelphia, Dr. Van Dusen's scholastic work was had at Princeton University, Union Theological Semi-



JULIUS SEELYE BIXLER

nary (Ph.D.) and Edinburgh University. He was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in 1924; is a trustee of Princeton and a member of the Editorial Board of *Religion in Life*. His writings include *In Quest of Life's Meaning*, *The Plain Man Seeks for God*, *God in These Times*, and *Reality and Religion*. Dr. Van Dusen was an outstanding leader at the Madras Meeting of the International Missionary Council and reported his impressions of that Meeting and of a year's visitation among foreign missions around the world, in the authoritative and eloquent book *For the Healing of the Nations*, followed by the briefer *What* Is *the Church Doing?* (1943), reviewed in our Summer issue. He is now chairman of the commission to carry on ecumenical studies in the field of Life and Work in preparation for the next meeting of the World Council of Churches. His present article is a cogent statement of the deeper issues confronting the foreign missions enterprise in the post-war world.

JULIUS SEELYE BIXLER is a native of Connecticut, an alumnus of Amherst, and received his doctorate from Yale. He took postgraduate work in Union Theological Seminary, Harvard, and the University of Freiburg, Germany. He was director of religious activities at Amherst in the early twenties; later, lecturer on philosophy in the University of Beirut, Syria, and professor of religion and Biblical literature in Smith College, 1924–1933. His appointment as lecturer in theology in Harvard was followed by the Bussey professorship of theology in that institution, terminated by his election to the presidency of Colby College, Maine, in 1942. Dr. Bixler is a member of numerous learned societies and author of *The Religious Philosophy of William James* and *Immortality and the Present Mood*, the Ingersoll Lecture at Harvard, 1931. He edited and contributed to *The Nature of Religious Experience* (1937), and has shared in the making of several other notable theological symposia. Until recently Dr. Bixler was chairman of the "Albert Schweitzer Fellowship," a group of friends who have been sending money and supplies to the famous mission in Africa which his article describes.

LUIS ALBERTO SÁNCHEZ, a native of Peru, is one of the most prolific of present-day Latin-American writers. Still in his forties, he is author of more than forty volumes, in such varied fields as history, the novel, and the essay. His outstanding reputation is in the field of literary criticism. None of his writings has yet appeared in English. In addition to his literary work, Dr. Sánchez now teaches in the University of Chile, and last year was visiting professor in Columbia University, New York.

His present article, written against a Roman Catholic background, is sympa-

thetic toward Protestant work in Latin America, but frank and discriminating in appraisal of its influence. The author represents a certain academic detachment from theological controversy and a sincere hope that the recently cemented cultural understanding between the two continents shall not be shattered by religious quarrels.

TIMOTHY TINGFANG LEW, Professor of Psychology and Religious Education at Yenching University, Peiping, and a member of the Legislative Yuan of the Chinese government is temporarily engaged in literary work in the United States. He was formerly Dean of the School of Religion of Yenching, and held teaching and administrative positions in the national Normal University of Peiping. He has been president of the China Christian Educational Association, and a secretary of the China National Christian Council. Dr. Lew's literary product has been voluminous. He was editor of *Life and Truth*, a monthly, editor of *Amethyst*, a quarterly, and has had a large part in the preparation of Christian literature for China through many years. A distinguished element in his work has been its contribution to liturgy. He was editor of words in *Hymns of Universal Praise* (1936), a work representing the co-operation of all branches of the Chinese Christian Church, and co-editor of the Book of Common Worship (1937) authorized by five co-operating churches. Dr. Lew participated as a delegate from China in the Lausanne and Edinburgh Conferences on Faith and Order, the Oxford Conference on Life and Work, and the Madras Missionary Conference, in the formulation of whose findings he bore an important part. He represents the National Christian Council of China on the committee on post-war planning of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

LUMAN J. SHAFER was a missionary and editor in Japan for twenty-three years before coming to his present office as secretary for Japan and China, of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America. Dr. Shafer is a native of New York, a graduate of Rutgers University and New Brunswick Theological Seminary. Besides his work in Japan he has traveled widely and repeatedly in the Orient and has had extensive personal contact with men and events during the revolutionary pre-war period. Dr. Shafer has been active on several important committees of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America and was chairman of the Conference's East Asia Committee. He is now chairman of the Department of International Justice and Good Will of the Federal Council of Churches. His book, *The Christian Alternative to World Chaos*, was published in 1940 and chosen as a "Book of the Month" by the Re-

TIMOTHY TINGFANG LEW

ligious Book Club. Dr. Shafer is now on a year's leave of absence from his permanent post in order to act as co-secretary

LUMAN SHAFER

with Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk of the Federal Council's Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace.

STEWART GRANT COLE, Executive Director of the Bureau for Intercultural Education, was born in Canada and took his bachelor's degree at McMaster University, his A.M. at the University of Chicago, and his Ph.D. at the same institution in 1929. He studied at Oxford and Marburg Universities, 1929–30, and did research at the University of Chicago 1938–39. He was instructor in history at the University of South Dakota 1922–23; assistant professor of education at Carleton College, 1923–24; professor of education at Crozer Theological Seminary, 1924–36; and president of Kalamazoo College, Michigan, 1936–38. He has been Executive Director of the Bureau for Intercultural Education in New York City since 1939, and was director of the Workshop of Teachers College, Columbia University in the summer of 1943. Dr. Cole is author of *A History of Fundamentalism* (1930), *Leisure in Our Time* (1934), *Character and Christian Education* (1936), *Liberal Education in a Democracy* (1940), and co-author of *Intercultural Education in American Schools*. He has written numerous articles in journals of education, sociology and religion.

BERNARD HELLER is a native of the Ukraine but was educated in the United States, receiving his bachelor's degree from the University of Pennsylvania and his M.A. from Columbia. His rabbinic studies were taken at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, from which he graduated in 1920. He was rabbi of the Madison Avenue Temple, Scranton, Pennsylvania, for the next ten years and later, for nine years, director of the Hillel Foundation of the University of Michigan where he took his Ph.D. degree. Here he not only became an expert in the handling

STEWART GRANT COLE

of student problems but was active in civic affairs, serving as president of the Council of Social Agencies at Ann Arbor

BERNARD HELLER

and chairman of the Community Chest. His earlier books, *Spinoza and Judaism* and *The Idea of God in Jewish Literature and Life*, were followed by the outstanding work, *The Odyssey of a Faith*, reviewed in our Winter 1943 number. Recently Rabbi Heller has lectured widely and has served as consultant to an important commission of the Synagogue Council of America co-operating with similar Protestant and Catholic commissions with the aim of eliminating prejudiced statements from school books for children. He is at present collaborating with the Bureau for Intercultural Education.

FRED DANIEL GEALY is a Pennsylvanian with a bachelor's degree from Allegheny College and a Ph.D. from Boston University, who subsequently studied at the Universities of Basle and Berlin and graduated from Union Theological Seminary in 1929. He was professor of New Testament language and literature in Aoyama Gakuin, Tokyo, 1923–36, and during 1936–39 visiting professor of missions in Iliff School of Theology and Drew Theological Seminary. Since 1939 he has been professor of missions and the history of religions in the Southern Methodist University School of Theology, Dallas, Texas. He edited the *Japan Christian Yearbook* in 1935 and 1936, and has contributed to many religious publications. Dr. Gealy is editor of the *Southwest Review*, the official publication of the Southern Methodist University.

DAVID STOWE, a native of Iowa, migrated to California along with much of the population of his original state, graduated from the University of California at Los Angeles and from the Pacific School of Religion at Berkeley. He is now assistant minister of the Congregational Church in Berkeley and director of student work in the University of California for his denomination.

The chief focus of the articles in this number is upon the problems of Christian missions in the post-war world. They amply testify to the complexity of the world's predicament but also to the confident faith held by Christians of many persuasions and shared equally by other men of constructive good will.

FRED DANIEL GEALY

WILLIAM PATON

William Paton

The sudden and untimely death of Reverend William Paton, D.D., of London, on August 21st, is a shocking loss to the Christian churches of the world. His years as secretary, first of the Student Christian Movement in Britain and later of the National Christian Council of India, gave him an extraordinarily wide influence which he wielded most effectively in every continent. As secretary of the International Missionary Council since 1927 and joint secretary of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches since 1938, he has been at the center of planning and administration of enterprises which have touched the churches in every country. He made ten visits to this country, the last being in 1942, when he participated in the Delaware Conference on a Just and Durable Peace, and the National Christian Mission under the auspices of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

In addition to his international work, he carried heavy responsibilities for religious work in his own country. A large measure of the initiative and wisdom which achieved the recent organization of the British Council of Churches was his, and he was chairman of its Executive Committee. Respected and trusted in government circles, he effectively represented the interests of the churches in relation to national policy. He kept in close touch with refugee groups and governments in exile and helped to organize assistance for them as well as for prisoners of war. The remarkable Anglo-European fellowships in England owe much to his initiative.

He had been on vacation and on the day before he became critically ill with a perforated duodenal ulcer, he had taken a twelve-mile walk around the horseshoe of hills behind Rydal. It appeared at first that he was to make a satisfactory recovery from the serious operation, but on the fourth day peritonitis set in and his heart gave way. Mrs. Paton reached his side shortly before the end. He was buried in St. Albans, the funeral taking place in the Abbey on the 25th. Leslie Hunter (Bishop of Sheffield), the Dean of St. Albans, Canon Hudson, Professor Roy Whitehorn of Westminster College, moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, and Dr. George Stewart from the United States, all dear friends, took part; and Leslie Hunter committed him to the grave.

Jesus lives! our hearts know well
Nought from us His love shall sever
Life, nor death, nor powers of hell
Tear us from His keeping ever.

At the Memorial Service in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on September 28th, at which Theodore Hume and Henry Leiper represented his American colleagues, the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered an address on the text, I Cor. 15:57–58.

Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.
Wherefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.

The Archbishop, who was an intimate lifelong friend, analyzed his character as no one else could. The following is a portion of his address, written out by him later for CHRISTENDOM and for all Dr. Paton's American friends.

He had in his composition a combination of qualities that is extremely rare. There was a wide range of knowledge of both facts and persons, which was in his own field unequalled. There is no one, I suppose, now living, who has so wide a range of knowledge concerning all that touches upon the world-wide enterprise of Christian evangelism and Christian witness. Partly because of that range of knowledge, but also because of other qualities in him, he handled it with an astonishing sureness of judgement. I have never known his advice to be at fault, and I believe that that is an almost universal experience — with the result that he had won the confidence not only of leaders in Churches but of responsible men serving the Government of this and other nations in a way that has hardly any parallel. He was able, therefore, to facilitate the work of the Church through gaining opportunities that would otherwise have been closed, because when he approached the responsible authorities on behalf of any project, they could be assured that it was well conceived and well founded.

This sureness of judgement was made possible because with the range of knowledge he had also an astonishing width of sympathy. He had entered into the outlook of people of different religions and traditions, of different national experiences of culture, in a way beyond anything that I have experienced in any other man, and so he knew how others would respond or react to any suggestions that might be put forward. It was not only the practicability but, as it were, the whole sequence in the realm of feeling and purpose which he was able to envisage as each proposal came before him for consideration or as different groups sought his advice concerning what was in their minds. And that width of sympathy once more was grounded in an assurance of faith in the wisdom and love of God whose guidance he was able to trace in the course of a great variety of movements, so that he could genuinely say that, though they were so diverse in themselves, yet wisdom was justified of all her children; he could appreciate the reason which led each to take up the standpoint characteristic of it. And so we all felt we could turn to him as though he was one of ourselves. We were never conscious, whatever our own tradition, that we were speaking to him across any dividing gulf. He was able to stand where we stood, but also able to relate what we could see from there with what he also saw as he took the standpoint of so many others.

In the fall meetings of the many British Church committees with which he was connected it was repeatedly evident that central dependence upon "Bill" was a habit with most of them. His was the personality around which many movements formed and from which they derived force and won favor. In his family life at St. Albans, despite his frequent and prolonged absences — Mrs. Paton says that in thirty years he was never at home uninterruptedly for as much as two consecutive months — he made a notable success of his stewardship. One son, David, is a missionary in China; another is a brilliant physician; the youngest son is in the fleet Air Arm. Two daughters likewise carry on the family tradition of service.

At the time of his death Dr. Paton had under consideration a volume on post-war mission policy. He had undertaken and had in preparation an article for CHRISTENDOM surveying the present situation, which was to have headed the matter of this issue. Instead we print a Prayer of Commemoration offered at the memorial service held for him under the auspices of the American Sections of the World Council in the First Presbyterian Church, New York City, on the twelfth of November. These tributes voice the affectionate esteem of the entire ecumenical circle.

It can readily be seen how much his professional colleagues will miss him, because he was central to so much of their work. But they and the many others who knew him will also feel lonely because of the loss of a generous, affectionate, high-minded, wise and loyal Christian comrade. We thank God for him and commit ourselves to closing up the gap in the ranks and pressing on in the many works to which he gave his life in the name of the Master.

HENRY SMITH LEIPER
ROSWELL P. BARNES
HARLAN PAUL DOUGLASS

Reviewers of CONTEMPORARY BOOKS in this issue include EDWIN E. AUBREY, professor of Christian theology and ethics, University of Chicago Divinity School; JOHN C. BENNETT, professor of Christian theology and ethics, Union Theological Seminary, New York; CONRAD BERGENDOFF, president, Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois; CARL E. BETH, professor, Meadville Theological School, Chicago; CHARLES S. BRADEN, professor of history and literature of religion, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois; HARVIE BRANSCOMB, professor of New Testament, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, professor-emeritus of systematic theology, Union Theological Seminary; BURTON SCOTT EASTON, professor of the literature and interpretation of the New Testament, General Theological Seminary, New York; CLARENCE H. HAMILTON, professor of history and philosophy of religion and Christian missions, Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin College; SEWARD HILTNER, secretary, Commission on Religion and Health, Federal Council of Churches, New York; F. ERNEST JOHNSON, secretary, Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches; GERALD KENNEDY, pastor, St. Paul Methodist Church, Lincoln, Nebraska; JOHN KNOX, professor of sacred literature, Union Theological Seminary; C. C. MCCOWN, professor of New Testament literature and interpretation and director of the Palestine Institute of Archaeology, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California; W. NORMAN PITTENGER, department of theology, General Theological Seminary, New York; PAUL RAMSEY, professor of ethics, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois; W. LYNDON SMITH, department of church history and dean of residence, Trinity College, Toronto, Canada; MATTHEW SPINKA, professor of church history, Hartford Theological Seminary; D. ELTON TRUEBLOOD, department of religion, Stanford University, California; HENRY P. VAN DUSEN, professor of systematic theology, Union Theological Seminary; and the Editor.

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CHRISTENDOM

VOLUME IX WINTER, 1944 NUMBER 1

A PRAYER OF COMMEMORATION

Used at the Memorial Service for William Paton
New York, November 12, 1943

O GOD, who art the strength of thy saints and who redeemest the souls of thy servants, we call to remembrance thy loving kindness and thy tender mercies to this thy servant whom this day we commemorate. For all thy goodness that withheld not his portion in the joys of this earthly life, and for thy guiding hand along the way of his pilgrimage, we give thee thanks and praise. Especially we bless thee for thy grace that kindled in his heart the love of thy dear name; that enabled him to fight the good fight, to endure unto the end, and to obtain the victory; yea, to become more than conqueror, through him that loveth us. Through Jesus Christ our Lord, *Amen.*

O God, who dost call men to far visions and high achievement, we bless thy name for the fruitful life of thy servant — for his profound knowledge, his discerning judgments, his untiring devotion, his catholicity of spirit, and the effectiveness of his world-wide Christian leadership. Through Jesus Christ our Lord, *Amen.*

Grant, O Lord, we beseech thee, that we who rejoice in the triumph of thy saints may profit by their example, that becoming followers of their faith and patience, we also may enter with them into an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled and that fadeth not away. Through Jesus Christ our Lord, *Amen.*

This Prayer was followed by The Hymn of Commemoration, "For all the saints, who from their labors rest."

NATURAL LAW AND INTERNATIONAL ORDER

By WALTER M. HORTON

THE historic crisis in which we stand has revitalized the ancient idea of a moral Law of Nature, universally valid for all peoples. The idea emerged clearly at the close of the First World War, and the League of Nations was founded upon it. The secession of Japan, Italy and Germany from the League, and their rebellious attitude toward all international conventions (save as a matter of occasional expediency) have provoked among their opponents a new moral revulsion similar to that which occurred in 1914 over the famous and unfortunate phrase, "a scrap of paper." Despite the failure of the League, and the failure of treaty after treaty during the Long Armistice, it is being reasserted that there are certain inviolable moral principles governing relationships between nations. The attempt to set up new agencies of international law-enforcement, more effective than the League, is already afoot. While the success of this difficult undertaking will depend upon many factors beyond the competence of theology, it will depend in no small measure upon clear theological thinking concerning the moral basis of international law. It is appropriate, then, for the Theological Society to devote this war-time session to a careful examination of the idea of Natural Law. The whole drive for a better world order requires the clarification of this idea and, unless great care be taken, may be wrecked upon its hidden ambiguities.

Christian thinkers cannot evade this task by pleading that their own ethical judgments are grounded in something deeper than any law of nature: the sacrificial love of God revealed in Christ. If they can be content to stand apart from all political effort in a time of world rebuilding, so be it; but if they wish to take an active part in the rebuilding, they must come to some sort of understanding with their fellow-artisans, most of whom cannot be expected to respond to directly Scriptural appeals. Almost inevitably, Christians in every part of the world are beginning to appeal to other men of goodwill, prospective co-workers in the rebuilding of our shattered world order, in terms of Natural Law. Our American church conference

on the bases of a just and durable peace, held at Delaware, Ohio, a year ago, begins by laying down nine "guiding principles which, it seems to us, Christians and non-Christians alike can accept." The first of these principles is essentially a reassertion of the idea of Natural Law: "There is a moral order which is fundamental and eternal, and which is relevant to the corporate life of men and the ordering of human society." In England a writer in the *Christian News-Letter* for Dec. 2, 1942, remarks: "The desire on the one hand, for a new social order and, on the other hand, for a Christian understanding of man's natural existence, has again turned the minds of Christians to a search for some doctrine of Natural Law as a basis of a new order of secular life." Meanwhile in China, a struggling government led by a Christian minority has for some years carried on a movement for national reconstruction (the New Life Movement) in terms of four ancient Chinese principles (*li*, *i*, *lien*, and *chih*), which could easily be interpreted as an Oriental summary of Natural Law. In 1930, when the Chinese government drew up a new Civil Code, its preface declared: "It follows in its theoretical portions the principles which modern juridical science is spreading steadily all over the world, and which are tending to constitute a sort of universal common law, and to remove the discrepancies due to the dissimilarities of the various national legislations, thus facilitating the development of international relations." So might Justinian, that Christian "theologian upon the throne," have written concerning the fundamental principles and purposes of his Code, where the *jus gentium* rested back finally upon the *jus naturae*.

Some doctrine of Natural Law is practically inevitable, as a means of co-operation between Christians and non-Christians in the cause of international justice. But *what* doctrine? How far resembling the classical Natural Law doctrines of ancient Stoicism, medieval Catholicism, and modern liberal democracy? How related to the distinctive tenets of the Christian faith? These are the crucial questions to which we must address ourselves. I am persuaded that if Christians are to make their distinctive contribution to the formulation of an adequate idea of Natural Law, they must not be content merely to repeat time-honored secular phrases about "self-evident truths" and "inalienable rights" — dear as those phrases are to American Christians — but must view the doctrine of Natural Law from the perspective of their distinctively Christian convictions concerning Na-

ture, God, and Man. What they see from this perspective is however not to be commended to their non-Christian associates on grounds of revelation and authority, which carry weight only among Christians, but on rational grounds such as would carry weight in public discussion. In this rationalized presentation of Christian doctrine there is place for frank confession of faith, where faith plainly outruns available evidence; but there is also room for critical appreciation and adoption of many originally non-Christian ideas, if their validity becomes clear.

To fill in this program for a Christian philosophy of *lex naturae* and *lex gentium* would require a book rather than a paper; but let me proceed schematically to sketch its outlines, beginning with its Biblical foundations, and proceeding thence upwards in chronological order through the Christian era, which has built upon these foundations three successive layers of superstructure — some of it "gold, silver, precious stones," much of it "wood, hay, stubble," all of it now being tried in the fire of a great world upheaval.

I

The Biblical Basis for a Christian Idea of Natural Law and International Order. For the Biblical writers, Nature is never self-explanatory and Man is never self-sufficient. Both are grounded in the creative power of God, and ruled by his sovereign will. Man comes to grief when he exalts himself against his Maker, or seeks to satisfy himself by possessing or adoring the things that his Maker has made. There is therefore no Law of Nature, strictly as such, in the Bible. To "follow Nature" would strike the Old Testament prophets as a form of idolatry only a shade removed from the worship of the sun and moon, or of lifeless stocks and stones.

Nevertheless, the judgments of God have for the prophets something of the regularity, impersonality, and universality later attributed to Natural Law. Amos sees the Lord standing with a plumb-line in the midst of the nations, measuring the Chosen People by the same inexorable moral standard whereby the Gentiles also are measured and condemned. Isaiah declares that it is futile to seek to avert the divine judgment by oblations and incense and hands uplifted in prayer so long as the hands of the worshippers are blood-stained and the evil of their doings still uncleansed. Only even-handed justice, everywhere and always, satisfies the divine requirements and

brings down the divine blessing. There is in this conception — despite the unquestionable personality of God in Hebrew prophecy — something analogous to the Hindu conception of an impersonal Karma which automatically requires compensation for all misdeeds, or the Greek idea of a cosmic justice to which both gods and men are subject (*themis*, *dikê*, *nemesis*) — an idea which finds its highest vindication in the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles. For Hebrew and Christian thought, this automatic law of "reaping what you sow" is only *an aspect of the working of the personal and loving God;* but it is a real and important aspect.

During the period of the Second Temple, the prophetic element in the Jewish Law was overlaid and obscured by nationalistic particularism and priestly ritualism, so that its analogy to Natural Law practically disappeared. It was part of the mission of Jesus to separate the non-essential "mint, anise, and cummin" of particularism and ritualism (or to express it less odiously, the *statute law element* in Torah) from those "weightier matters of the Law" — justice, mercy and faith — whose universally valid core he summed up in the Golden Rule. I say the Golden Rule rather than the Two Great Commandments because the former embodies a much more strictly natural-law concept than the latter, and much better adapted for use in the international sphere. The Two Great Commandments are a kind of bridge between natural righteousness and the higher righteousness. Nations professing to love God, and their neighbors as themselves, are probably hypocritical.

To be sure, Jesus had also the mission of declaring a new and higher righteousness which was to supersede both the legal righteousness of the Jews and the natural righteousness of the Gentiles, for those prepared to take his yoke upon them and learn of him; but this higher righteousness was a righteousness known only to the children of the Kingdom. For all others the universal element in the Law and the Prophets still held good, and they would be judged in terms of it. "For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged." Few men judge in terms of the Sermon on the Mount. All men naturally acknowledge a code of justice similar to that which underlies the particular statutory enactments of Jewish Torah. This is the Christian Law of Nature.

The clearest New Testament text, on this Christian Law of Nature, is Romans 2:14, 15: "For when the Gentiles, which have not

the law, do *by nature* (*phusei*) the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another." There are echoes in this passage of the famous prediction of Jeremiah, that God would some day make a new covenant with his people, and write his law *in their hearts;* but we should misunderstand St. Paul entirely if we supposed him to be referring *here* to this great prophecy. The new inward law of Jeremiah is fulfilled for St. Paul in the "law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" (Romans 8) which liberates the Christian both from the written enactments of Jewish Torah and from the unwritten moral law which convicts us all of sin. What he refers to in the second chapter of Romans is this unwritten moral law which all men *naturally* acknowledge when confronted with its requirements, and to which both Jews and Gentiles testify, in conduct as well as in conscience, though all finally must be adjudged unrighteous by this standard. It is *God's law, not Nature's;* but all men have a dim natural knowledge of it — and a dim natural aspiration to obey it. Such natural knowledge is clarified and such natural aspiration is strengthened when men respond to the Gospel. This is the Biblical doctrine of Natural Law.

If the early Christians made comparatively little use of this doctrine, it was not because they lacked faith in it, but because they had no important problems to which to apply it. The life of the primitive churches was self-contained; their citizenship was in heaven, and the problems of law and government which vexed the average Roman citizen meant nothing to them. They had of course to deal constantly with non-Christians, in terms of a code of ethics different from their own; but they had few calls to *collaborate* with them. It was not until their unexpected social triumph suddenly confronted them with the task of creating a world order that they had any important occasion to use the Christian idea of Natural Law, and by that time they had partly forgotten it. Moreover, the imperial law-code which they were called to administer was Roman not Jewish, and it was the Stoics not the prophets who had originally worked out the moral presuppositions of that code. This was the reason, as I see it, why the Christian Fathers came to substitute the Stoic doctrine of Natural Law for the Biblical doctrine. It was not because, as Troeltsch asserts, the early Christians lacked any social ethic, and the Stoics

had one! [1] The Christians not only had *a* social ethic; they had *two* — one for the Christian community, based on the divine love taught in the Sermon on the Mount, poured out on Calvary, and celebrated in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians; another for mankind at large, based upon the divine justice declared by the Hebrew prophets, confirmed by Jesus and the apostles, and echoed by the universal conscience of all peoples. Both forms of Christian ethics were and are relevant to the problems of world order — the second immediately, the first ultimately. Our greatest resource, as we face the political chaos of our time, is still to be found in this double code of love and justice, which on the one hand confronts human society with its ultimate ideal, already working as a leaven in small typical communities, and on the other hand provides a basis for immediate realistic co-operation between all men of goodwill, of every faith, to check the spread of national or racial egotism and correspondingly extend the rule of justice and liberty, "everywhere in the world." Neither the "four freedoms" nor the Atlantic Charter, nor any program of world reconstruction that may be based upon them, needs to appeal from the Bible to the Stoics or the Deists in order to escape from sectarian provincialism into genuine world citizenship. The best hope of eventual world fellowship lies in those whose fellowship is first of all "with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ" (I John 1:3), but finally extends to all men everywhere.

II

The Classical Idea of Natural Law in Relation to the Biblical. Whatever we may wish the Fathers of the Church had done, it is certain that they did make large use of Greek and Roman philosophic ideas of Natural Law, which have thus become a part of our Christian heritage. I am convinced that the Biblical idea of Natural Law lends itself logically to such an alliance with non-Christian ideas *provided the alliance be made without compromising Christian principles.* I am therefore in favor of *correcting the relations* of the Biblical and classical ideas, rather than eliminating the classical altogether; and I would further propose that new relations be established with modern India and China, to supplement the ancient relationship of Christian thought with pagan Greece and Rome. If we are to have a new international order that includes the Orient, this is imperative.

The Stoics were not the inventors of the classical idea of Natural

Law. It was first clearly stated in the troubled days of Athenian supremacy and Spartan rivalry, when traditional Greek morality was breaking down, privately and publicly, under the stress and strain of new conditions. The Sophists claimed that traditional morality was merely "conventional." The strong man who follows the bent of his nature, without senseless inhibitions, will seek his own advantage where he has the power and his own pleasure where he has the inclination. Strong cities will do the same. (See the dialogue between the Athenians and the hapless inhabitants of Melos, as reported in Thucydides). Aeschylus and Sophocles opposed to this moral nihilism their religious faith in a higher law that still holds good when human conventions break down — a divine justice which eventually humbles and destroys overweening human pride, as often as it exalts itself. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle fought the Sophists on their own ground, rational dialectics, by making a closer analysis of *human nature* — the very criterion of conduct to which the Sophists had appealed. Their eventual conclusion was that man is warring against his own true nature when he becomes a tyrant or a libertine; he is by nature a rational and social animal, whose inherent structure requires him to control his appetites and subordinate his interests to the common good.

This idea of a moral law grounded in *human* nature was later developed by the Stoics into the idea of a moral law grounded in the *universe*. (Hence arises the *first* ambiguity in the classical idea of Natural Law: does "natural" refer to human nature or universal Nature?) Reason (*Logos*) is for the Stoics not only the ruling attribute of man; it runs through the whole cosmos, binding all private destinies and particular polities into one great City of Zeus. It is man's duty, and his only chance for happiness, to order his ways after the universal order of Nature. In the order of Nature — at least in the Golden Age — all men are equal, and members one of another; therefore equality and fraternity are the goods at which all governments should aim. (There is, however, an ambiguity here — the *second* main ambiguity in the classical idea: the law of the Golden Age no longer holds in this degenerate Iron Age.) From the time of Cicero on, this conception more and more dominated Roman jurisprudence. The rational *jus naturale*, while it did not override the special provisions of the *jus civile* (peculiar to Roman citizens) nor invalidate the contracts on which the *jus gentium* (common to Romans

and non-Romans) was based, nevertheless acted as a controlling ideal in both fields, and influenced the interpretation of every law when applied in court — much as Christian mercy and charity have influenced the courts of Christendom. It was not only natural but proper and logical for Justinian, the Christian emperor, to incorporate the results of this Stoic humanization of Roman law in his revision of the code. Thereby he forged a powerful instrument of justice and conciliation, which has mediated the disputes of European Christendom for nearly a millennium and a half; though the ambiguities of the idea of "Nature" were never fully resolved, then or later.

Against the cult of brutal self-assertion, which bursts forth again and again in the history of mankind, a defensive alliance between the classical and Biblical ideas of universal morality is highly desirable; but the terms of the alliance must be carefully drawn, since there are real incompatibilities between the two parties. Among the difficulties of the classical doctrine, from our modern Christian perspective, are the following: (1) Human nature does not respond to reason so simply and surely as the Socratic dictum, "Wisdom is virtue," would indicate. It *judges* itself better than it can *correct* itself. (2) The universal order of Nature is neither so *fixed*, so *unambiguous*, nor so *divine* as the Stoics supposed it to be. Modern science has proved that Nature is controllable by human knowledge and skill to an extent that makes Stoic resignation and Oriental fatalism look cowardly and lazy. The maxim "Follow Nature" has received so many mutually contradictory interpretations in modern times — all the way from the sentimentalism of Rousseau to the Nietzschean "Will to Power" — that it has become impossible to look up to Nature as to a divine oracle. Not fickle Mother Nature, but the patient and unswerving will of her Creator, is the best ground on which to build the principles of universal morality. Christians have to maintain their sober view of human nature, and their subordination of Nature to God, if they are to preserve their view of Natural Law from pantheistic ambiguities.

Both the enduring truths and the specific shortcomings of the classical Graeco-Roman tradition are closely paralleled in the religious and moral traditions of modern India and China. Like their ancient analogues, Oriental religions (except Islam) have sought for universality along pantheistic rather than theistic lines, and so have

frequently lost the clear meaning of the One in the endless variety of the Many, wherein it alternately appears and disappears. They have been confined by the notion of eternal recurrence, which makes the Hebrew prophetic hope of a radical deliverance from injustice seem incredible to them. But there appear in their sacred books many concepts which justify the belief in a universal moral conscience, and there is actually a moral unity in Asia underlying all diversities of cultural inheritance. Professor W. E. Hocking has recently made a brilliant review (in *Fortune*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2) of the religious and moral forces of Asia, available for the building of a new international order. His summary is worth quoting:

> Just as in more westerly Asia the august name of Allah brings ruler and ruled alike to prostrate prayer, so in the farther East the benign figure of the cosmic Buddha reduces all human distinctions to a sort of flimsy pageantry only thinly disguising the serious business of life, the moral pilgrimage of the soul. While it is we who talk about brotherhood, and realize some of it, it is in Islam and the Buddhist orders that brotherhood across all lines is most palpably a fact. . . . Relativity of ethical ideas offers no obstacle in Asia to an ethical community of races. Localism there is, but it is self-conscious, does not mistake itself for universal truth and hence can live with other localisms. Over them all is the One, the canopy under which men meet as men, the Buddha that pervades their universe.

Since China is likely to be a leading power in post-war Asia, it is particularly important to note the universal element in Chinese ethics. While these are especially marked in Buddhism (as noted) and in Taoism (whose conception of an all-pervading cosmic Way is the closest Oriental parallel to the all-pervading Stoic *Logos*) they are not absent from Confucianism. For Confucius, all of the five particular human relations recognized by patriarchal society are reflectors of the order of Heaven. Heaven is the "canopy" under which all men meet as brothers, within the four seas. The positive provisions of Confucian ethics are to the law of Heaven what the positive provisions of Roman law were to the *jus naturale* in the Ciceronian system. The principle which governs all particular laws and customs, most generally, is "reciprocity," the Golden Rule. The best statement of this is in *The Great Learning*, X, 2: "What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not display in the treatment of his inferiors. . . . What he hates to receive on the right, let him not bestow on the left," etc. Even in Japan, where religious nationalism reigns almost unopposed, it is possible to appeal to this Confucian

law of Heaven. A priest of the official Shinto cult once remarked to me that the authority of Heaven, which overarches all nations, is higher and more extensive than that of the Emperor, who is only the Son of Heaven. The joker in this remark is of course the secret conviction that this Son of Heaven is destined to assert Heaven's just sovereignty over a much wider area than Japan; but there is no *logical* reason why the law of Heaven should not be interpreted in terms of genuine Confucian reciprocity between nations, which would keep Japan from unjust encroachment upon her neighbors. This Chinese version of Natural Law might well be accepted by Christian statesmen as the cornerstone of postwar order in Asia, since it lays down the same Golden Rule that we accept.

All in all, it is fair to conclude that there is as promising a chance of alliance between Christians and non-Christians in Orient and Occident today, on a basis of Natural Law, as there was between Christians, Stoics and Platonists in classical antiquity. Sir Stafford Cripps is not talking platitudinously, but as a shrewd statesman, when he says,

> Many of us believe in some higher power greater than any human force, whether we be Christians, Jews, Moslems, Hindus or of other creeds. With that higher power we associate better and finer standards than our own, standards which we know to be right and just, but which only too often we have neglected in our human relationships. We are by these beliefs bound into a fellowship which goes far beyond all natural boundaries. (Message to the New York *Herald Tribune* Forum, Nov. 17, 1942.)

There is enough genuine similarity between the content of Natural Law in Christian and non-Christian countries to make what might be called a common-law (*jus gentium*) marriage of East and West likely to endure. I would favor entering into such a union with our eyes open to the danger of compromising our Christian principles, but with a strong hope of permanence, just as I favor the even more dangerous experiment of a union with Soviet Russia. In each case, Christians must reach out for those elements in foreign cultures which are really universal, and so akin, while at the same time they tolerate local particularities as they would wish their own to be tolerated, and fight moral nihilism abroad as they fight it at home. The foes of racial and national particularism simply must stand together for the future — or their future is dubious.

III

Catholic and Protestant Ideas of Natural Law. The Catholic version of the Christian Natural Law, as classically formulated by St. Thomas, is still a mighty force in world politics — as the travels of Myron Taylor and Archbishop Spellman, and in another sense, the political philosophy of Jacques Maritain, all bear witness. A convenient summary of Catholic doctrine about Natural Law was recently made in the columns of the *Christian Century* by Augustin Wand, S.J., who was protesting against an indubitable misstatement made by the editors to the effect that "the Roman Catholic Church and the Pope are the only authentic channels by which the eternal law comes to men." Father Wand might have admitted, if pressed, that the *lex eterna*, as transmitted to man through the *lex divina* of positive revelation (God's law as laid down in Holy Scripture and Christian tradition) needs the authentic interpretation of the Catholic Church and her head; but he is certainly right in pointing out that there is another line of transmission, more widely accessible than the first:

> The eternal law, as commonly taken in our textbooks of moral philosophy, is another term for natural law as applied to man. It is the "law" impressed on the moral order by the eternal Creator and can be known to man through the use of his natural reason. . . . [Reference to Romans 2:14,15]. . . . This "eternal law," according to the common teaching of the popes and of Catholic philosophers . . . cannot be unknown to anyone having full use of reason without guilt of conscience. It is only with regard to the more remote conclusions that ignorance or doubt may exist without guilt. This law is, therefore, radically different in its nature from positive law, whether divine or human (*Christian Century*, March 10, 1943, p. 301).

The middle term between Natural Law as originally "impressed" on creation by its Creator, and the positive or statute law of a particular country is found by Catholic thinkers in what Troeltsch calls the "relative natural law." The "absolute" or original law of Creation, before the Fall, is a law of complete liberty, equality and fraternity, like that described by the Stoics in their account of the Golden Age. This absolute law, as Ernest Barker puts it, knows "no *dominium* of government over subjects, or of owners over property, or of masters over slaves: 'by nature' men are free from the State, they own all things in common, and they are equal to one another." [2] The Relative Natural Law is a modification of this original idyllic order required by the advent of sin and strife in the world. To con-

trol men's egotism and possessiveness, God had to limit their freedom by instituting governmental restraints. The division of property and diversification of classes had also to be permitted under this new situation. By this logic, some Catholic thinkers (like some Lutheran thinkers) can justify Fascist régimes that are as remote as possible from the original state of nature.

Brunner and other Protestant critics of this Catholic doctrine like to point out that there is a palpable *non sequitur* between its ideal point of departure and its all too realistic point of arrival. Yet every attempt to moralize law and government runs into the same difficulty; Brunner's own ethical system does not escape it. Recalcitrant human traits and unideal conditions force laws and institutions to depart from moral norms, in the direction of severe authoritarianism. The real question about the Catholic Law of Nature, as it seems to me, is whether it rationalizes the rights of men against governments as well as it rationalizes the right of governments to control men. I am glad to note that Jacques Maritain, in his address on "The Natural Law and Human Rights," [3] has defended the proposition that "the human person naturally transcends the State," because he is "ordered to super-temporal values," and from this super-temporal status — which the Gospel itself has helped to make part of the general moral consciousness of mankind — Maritain derives those inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of (temporal and eternal) happiness which Jefferson declared to be self-evident. Doubtless Maritain would be jailed in Catholic Spain for delivering such an address; but he has proved that the Catholic doctrine will logically yield such an interpretation. This means that Protestants and democrats cannot put aside Catholic doctrine as inevitably weighted on the side of tyranny.

As a matter of fact, the services of Catholic Natural Law to the cause of liberty and justice have been very considerable. At the beginning of the modern era, it was invoked by Catholic theologians against the Pope and the Kings of Spain and Portugal, in defense of the rights of the American Indians. The *Conquistadores* claimed that the savages of the New World had no legal rights, and that the Pope, as earthly representative of God, had the right to divide their territory and persons and properties between the faithful as he saw fit — which Pope Alexander VI presently proceeded to do by tracing the famous geographical line of 1493, dividing the New World between

the Spanish and the Portuguese. But this was against the teachings of St. Thomas, and the whole trend of medieval opinion, which had guaranteed the legal rights of Jews, Moslems and other non-Christians under the provisions of Natural Law, while reserving the duties, rights and privileges of the *lex divina* for baptized Christians. Father de Victoria of Salamanca dared to reassert this classical doctrine in the face of the Spanish King and of the Holy Father himself, declaring in his treatise *De Indis* that "neither the sin of infidelity nor their other mortal sins prevent barbarians from being legal proprietors, both from the private and from the public point of view; and Christians may not on these grounds take possession of their goods and lands." The great Jesuit theologian, Suarez, took the same position, declaring that every sovereign must be a humble "disciple of the law natural," which forbids treating anyone, whosoever he may be, as though he had no rights. This is now the accepted Catholic position, and it has had a wholesome influence upon the development of modern international law. [4]

Protestants and other heretics, it must regretfully be added, do not have as good status in Catholic theory as do the Indians and the heathen. They have the misfortune of being judged by the laws of the Church, which are much less favorable to them than Natural Law would be. Natural Law, in other words, is the best part of Catholic ethics from a liberal point of view, as Natural Theology is the best part of Catholic theology. Protestants and political liberals can fight shoulder to shoulder with Jacques Maritain and Prince zu Loewenstein for a better ordering of international affairs under Natural Law; but woe to them if the Catholic Church ever attains a majority position in the new world order! The Bull *Unam Sanctam* is still a part of Catholic tradition, and the recent controversy over Protestant missions in Latin America proves that the Roman Church is still ready to appeal to the state — yea, even in the name of the Good Neighbor Policy! — to suppress heresy within what she regards as her own preserves. I do not mean to assert that the modern Roman Church officially holds the theory of Boniface VIII. She generally prefers the Gelasian theory of a division of jurisdiction between church and state. As a matter of tactics in dealing with non-Catholic countries she grants the right of the majority in each state to control religious teaching within that area, and to keep minorities from carrying on public religious propaganda — *except in case*

a religious minority can prove it has a divine commission. But whatever theory is used, a Roman majority is always dangerous to a heretical minority. Let Protestants always see to it that they and the heathen together outnumber the Catholics, or they may have to flee to another planet in search of neutral ground where Natural Law still holds.

I wish I could say that Protestant thought had contributed as much as Catholic thought to the cause of international order; but I do not believe it has. This is largely because Protestant thought has mishandled the idea of Natural Law.

In Lutheranism, at least in Germany, the sense of human depravity has been so deep and unrelieved that the Absolute Natural Law has quite dropped out of serious consideration, as an ideal regulating jurisprudence; and the element of state authoritarianism in the Relative Natural Law (reverence for the "powers that be," as though they came from God) has been exaggerated to a pitch impossible even for Catholic clerical Fascism: for not only the right of the individual to revolt against the state but the right of the church to oppose the state on public issues has been reduced to a minimum. The results of this are too visible and too terrible to need much comment. Paul Means puts it succinctly: "The Lutheran Reformation of Germany, which asserted the rights of Germanism and of nationality against the claims of an international hierarchy of priests, has now resulted in a movement which asserts the triumph of Germanism and of national unity over every conflicting force, even of religion." (*Things That Are Caesar's*, 1935, p. 1.) In the radical Protestantism of the small charismatic sects, on the other hand, there has been a total abandonment of the Natural Law, and therewith a total abandonment of the field of public affairs. Within their own fellowship — sometimes in extensive communities — these sects have realized the higher righteousness of the New Testament, which Luther confined to private life, with such purity and power that their example has often exercised a leavening influence upon public morals; but they lack any rational framework for co-operation in large-scale political efforts, such as are now necessary to build a new international order. If the modern Quakers are not hit by this criticism, it is because they are bursting the framework of the small-sect type — thereby exposing themselves to dangers of compromise which they originally avoided.

The only type of Protestantism which deserves comparison with Catholicism as an international force is Calvinism. It is no accident that Woodrow Wilson, founder of the League of Nations, was a Presbyterian, nor that its capital was set at Geneva. Calvinists have been from the start implacable enemies of the modern drift toward unlimited sovereignty on the part of monarchs and governments, stubborn asserters of the sovereignty of God over all earthly sovereigns. (Think of John Knox confronting Mary Queen of Scots.) But their handling of the problem of Natural Law has not been without its defects. Like Melanchthon and other Protestants, Calvin tended to assimilate the Natural Law too closely to the pattern of the Ten Commandments; and from this Old Testament pattern he derived an ascetic legal code of private and public morals which the unregenerate have always found irksome in the extreme, and against which they have rebelled with terrific force at times — as repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment vividly reminds us. The Calvinist zeal to set the whole of human life, private and public, national and international, under the one government of God's holy will is truly Biblical, and ought never to be abandoned; but it is peculiarly necessary for Calvinists to meditate upon such books as *Moral Man and Immoral Society*. That is to say, they need to distinguish more sharply between the intimate group life of Christians, which can exhibit graces higher than Puritans think possible, and the large-scale relations of nations and economic classes which can never be expected to rise to a fully Christian level, or even to the level of Calvinistic legalism. Lutheranism and the small sects, each in their own way, divided the "two kingdoms" too absolutely; Calvinism united them too uncritically. A more adequate theory of Natural Law would have helped Calvinism to work out a more discriminating view of God's sovereign will, which applies in all areas but in different ways.[5]

IV

The Modern Democratic Idea of Natural Law. It would be a misnomer to speak of Protestant theories of Natural Law as "modern"; they were attempts to adapt the medieval Catholic theory to changing conditions. The distinctly "modern" idea of Natural Law is the secular, rational democratic idea which underlies the pronouncements of the American and French revolutions. The remote ancestors of this idea, Althusius and Grotius, were Protestants of the Calvinistic

school; but they began the secularization and rationalization of the traditional Christian idea of Natural Law when they pushed back from the Biblicism of Calvin and Melanchthon, back from the stern authoritarianism of the Relative Natural Law to the "liberty, equality, fraternity" of the Absolute Natural Law — so described long ago by the Stoics. The Absolute Natural Law had long been a part of Christian theory, but a rather inactive part, since it belonged to the *status integritatis* before the Fall of Adam, and could neither be known nor practiced by Adam's corrupt descendants. Now it was set forth as rationally self-evident, and eminently practicable — a sure sign that confidence in human reason and human goodness was rising. With the aid of the Roman law of contract, on which (it will be remembered) the Roman *jus gentium* was mainly founded, the ancient Stoic description of the original Golden-Age "state of nature" was developed into a complete theory of human society, in which the rights of free individuals were primary and the rights of associations, states, and groups of states were derived from individual rights.

By the eighteenth century, when this theory came to full fruition, the new view of Natural Law had been buttressed by a very special sort of Natural Theology, based upon Newtonian natural science and generally known as Deism. If the God of Calvin was an arbitrary despot, and the God of Grotius a constitutional monarch, the God of the Deists conformed to the favorite political maxim of the age, that "that government is best which governs least." In the words of Thomas Paine, God was an "Almighty Lecturer," demonstrating benevolence in Nature and inviting imitation. Enlightened eighteenth century man was sure he did not need the harsh governmental control without which Luther believed all men fell into brutal excesses; he needed rather to throw off all violent restraints, and let natural wisdom and benevolence direct him. The Law of Nature was for the eighteenth century philosophers not a final, distant ideal by which the abuses of statute law were abated and gradually corrected; it was a standard so immediately luminous and authoritative that any discrepancy between its requirements and existing statutes called for instant correction. A British jurist evoked great enthusiasm in the American colonies by declaring that "even an Act of Parliament made against natural equity . . . is void in itself; for *jura naturae sunt immutabilia*, and they are *leges legum*." This was one of the slogans on which the American Revolution was fought.[6]

The faith of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson was a bold faith and a mighty faith. It created a new era in political history, whose benefits we still enjoy. Under the spell of political oratory, it is even possible for contemporary Americans to "hold these (Jeffersonian) truths to be self-evident." Who of us has not been stirred to fresh appreciation and gratitude by the portrayals of Jefferson's life and work which have attended the celebration of his two hundredth anniversary? But viewed in the perspective of subsequent developments, Jeffersonian democracy requires restatement if its permanent gains are to be preserved through this stormy twentieth century. Jefferson himself recognized, in his First Inaugural, that the Hamiltonian insistence upon a strong central government was needed to balance his own insistence upon the rights of the individual ("we are all Republicans, we are all Federalists"). What he could not foresee was the effect of the industrial revolution upon that agrarian economy which he desired to perpetuate, and the tendency of the industrial economy to destroy the rights of individuals unless government assumed a paternalistic care of their economic security. Neither could he foresee the dark events in which the industrial era has culminated, and which have destroyed our simple inherited faith in nature, reason and humanity. These "superficial" elements in Jefferson's thought, as Carl Becker calls them, may all have to be abandoned in the light of changed conditions. But I agree with Jacques Maritain that the three inalienable rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" really belong to the universal Law of Nature, and must be defended at all costs. If the only cure for the evils of industrial culture is to be found in a state paternalism that destroys these inalienable rights, then it were better to take every machine and every invention of the last hundred years, load them on a fleet of barges and scuttle them all in Scapa Flow! — after which we might return to Jefferson's agrarian economy, recover our inalienable rights, and start over again to modernize, more cautiously!

The whole idea of Natural Law has been vigorously opposed, throughout the nineteenth century, by the school of Historical Law whose ideology has dominated German jurisprudence as fully as that of Natural Law has dominated Anglo-American jurisprudence. Troeltsch pointed out after the First World War that this was the major theoretical source of Germany's conflict with Britain and America.[7] The Historical Law school has raised many serious objec-

tions to the Natural Law school, which should be considered on their merits, irrespective of the destructive use to which they have been put by the Nazis. It has pointed out that law is always relative to a particular historical state of society, and can best be understood by first studying the essential spirit (*Zeitgeist*) of the particular age which gave it birth, and the structure of the particular people (*Volk*) to whom it applies. In its extreme outworking, this point of view eventuates in the Nazi doctrine that *Recht* is whatever serves the interests of the German *Volk* — a doctrine which robs law of all its truly moral character, and altogether excludes the possibility of international law. But as a correction of the vague Stoic cosmopolitanism of eighteenth century democracy, the Historical Law point of view is valuable and may even be life-saving. Democracy made a hasty grab, at the close of the First World War, for its ideal of a unified humanity composed of free men and sovereign nations. This ideal proved to be unattainable in the form first envisaged, and so we were pitched into the bitter disillusionment of the 'twenties. There is danger that democracy may be disillusioned again, and slacken its efforts disastrously again, unless its social ideal is revised.

In our plans for world government at the close of this war, it seems to me that we shall do well to make large room for the principles of particularism, regionalism, nationalism, on which the school of Historical Law insisted, while retaining our Natural-Law faith in the final moral kinship of all peoples, and the possibility of a universal legal framework within which many cultural differences can be tolerated and reconciled. We shall not hope for a quick and complete victory for this ideal, for we perceive the perversity of human nature far more tragically than did the eighteenth century; but we shall not abandon the hope of a just world-commonwealth. This hope is not merely a Stoic Utopia, but related to our heritage from the Hebrew prophets and from Christ. Gierke himself, the most mature representative of the Historical Law school, has stated the ideal in terms that we can accept: "the sovereign independence of the idea of Justice," he says, must continue to be asserted even though a more positive conception of law comes to replace the eighteenth century conception of literally uniform Natural Law.[8] Christian statesmen can co-operate with any country, including Soviet Russia, so long as this much of the concept of Natural Law remains. I do not believe that the Soviet régime has ever succumbed to the complete ethical

relativism that has engulfed the Nazis — though after the autumn of 1939 I thought it had. So long as something of the spirit of 1776 and 1789 continues to brood over the Russian Revolution, there is room for what I have called a common-law marriage between the Christian world and the Communist world. The world order which we dimly descry through the smoke of battle today will necessarily be spotted with many islands of regional and national particularism, of which some of the most important are in Southeast Asia and Soviet Russia. But so long as the canopy of "Heaven" still floats over Southeast Asia, and Russia still dreams of a state of liberty, equality, fraternity beyond the dictatorship of the proletariat, and Christians still believe in Natural Law, there is hope that our world may yet be one world, in fact as in ideal.

Conclusions: (1) Christian Ethics have a double Biblical basis: (a) the higher righteousness of love (ἀγάπη), which is the ultimate Christian ideal for all life, but which is more immediately practicable in small groups than in international politics; and (b) the ideal of universal justice (*Mishpat*) implied in the Law and the Prophets, summarized by Jesus in the Golden Rule, and defined by St. Paul in Romans 2:14, 15. This latter ideal is more immediately practicable in politics than the higher righteousness.

(2) The second or "Natural Law" aspect of Christian Ethics can be rationally united with the parallel Natural Law concepts of ancient Platonism, Aristotelianism and Stoicism, or with the very similar concepts of modern India and China. There are dangers of compromise in such a union, especially because of pantheistic ambiguities that lurk in all non-theistic concepts of Nature; but the experiment must be made, for the sake of a united front against the threat of moral nihilism.

(3) Catholics and Protestants can unite in this warfare against nihilism on a Natural Law basis, better than they could possibly unite upon the basis of the Christian revelation — of which Catholics claim a monopoly.

(4) The liberal democratic idea of Natural Law contains many indefensible assumptions about the goodness of human nature and the uniformity of law, which Christians are not called upon to defend; but the defense of the inalienable rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is part of the defense of Christianity itself.

REFERENCES

1. Cf. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, Vol. I, p. 158: "the impotence of the attitude of early Christianity towards all social problems."
2. Introduction to Gierke, *Natural Law and the Theory of Society*, p. xxxvii. Cf. Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 150–155.
3. Christian Culture Press, Assumption College, Windsor, Ontario, 1942.
4. For all references in this paragraph, see Vanderpool, *La doctrine scholastique du droit de guerre*, Paris 1925, pp. 225, 437, etc. See also Victor Monod's article in *Christianisme social*, Nov. 1931, on "L'idée de neutralité internationale et le Christianisme."
5. For the basis of the foregoing judgments on Lutheran, Radical Protestant, and Calvinist ethics, see Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 505–691 — the best part of his analysis.
6. Barker's introduction to Gierke, *op. cit.*, p. xlvi.
7. Appendix I in Gierke, *op. cit.* It is an odd fact that while Anglo-Saxon countries *have* maintained the Natural Law tradition in international law, they have departed from it widely in domestic law. The best example of this is the extreme legal positivism and pragmatism of the late Mr. Justice Holmes — a kindly humanitarian positivism far removed, of course, from that of contemporary German jurisprudence.
8. Gierke, *op. cit.*, Appendix II.

THE MISSIONARY MESSAGE SINCE MADRAS

By HENRY P. VAN DUSEN

FOR Christian faith in any age, there is, in principle, one central problem. It is essentially the same in every age. It is the relation of the Christian Gospel to the forms of life and thought in the environment in which Christianity is functioning. It centers in the question, How far are the forms of life and thought in that environment akin to and congruous with authentic Christian life and thought? The problem is disclosed in the extreme positions taken with regard to that question — unqualified continuity *and* radical discontinuity.

This is a central problem in every age. It was the crucial issue for the Early Church. It forced itself upon the first Christians in two questions. On the one hand, was the new life thrust into the world at Pentecost assimilable to the prevailing life of the first century, or was it radically different, to be held apart from the environing life and shielded at all cost from dilution and contamination by it? On the other hand, was the new faith stemming from the Resurrection continuous with and the fulfillment of its Jewish precursor; or was it wholly other than that familiar religion, springing from a radical incursion of God into history without parallel or precedent?

This was a crucial issue for Paul. The agony of his passage from conscientious Judaism to passionate Christian devotion may be interpreted, in part, as conversion from certainty of the authority of his traditional faith to acceptance of the validity of this despised heresy in all its radical novelty.

This was the crucial issue for the first Christian mission and the first Christian apologetic, moving out into the secularism and cosmopolitanism of the Graeco-Roman world. What was the right adjustment of Christian behavior to the standards and practices of that world? What was the true relation of Christian belief to the presuppositions of that world's mind? The earliest structural theologies of the Church, so largely determinative upon all subsequent theology, were hammered out under insistent pressure from that question. The so-called ecumenical creeds were the most influential outcome.

This has been a central issue in each great critical or creative period since, as the mind of the church in successive eras has confronted unfamiliar thought-forms in the environing culture and has been constrained to come to terms with them; or as the life of the Christian movement has pushed forth into new lands or strange cultures and made its accommodation to them. It is a commonplace of the history of doctrine that each of the four main schools of Christian theology — Eastern, Roman, Reformation and Modern — was, at its inception, in large part a redeclaration of essential Christian faith confronting a regnant philosophy in the surrounding world.

It may be recognized, I believe, that this is the really crucial point of division in most of the great issues of theological controversy. It is the question whether continuity or radical contrast most accurately defines the relations of God and the world, of God and man; of religion and high ethics, of revealed and natural religion; of men's knowledge of God and their knowledge of Nature; of Christianity and pre-Christian Judaism, of Christianity and other living religions, of Christian and secular ethics, of Christiantiy and the surrounding culture; of Jesus Christ and other men, of Jesus of Nazareth and the Risen Christ, of the faith of Jesus and the faith of the Church, of Christ and the movement which bears his name. To be sure, two contrasted types of continuity or discontinuity are represented in these illustrations. Some (e.g. the relation of Christianity to other religions or of Jesus Christ to other men) concern the continuity of a reality with that which is external to it. Others (e.g. the relation of Jesus of Nazareth to the Risen Christ, or of Christ and the movement which bears his name) concern internal continuity or self-identity. But, in every instance, the issue is one of "continuity" or "discontinuity."

That this *is* the crucial problem is most convincingly demonstrated in the fact that the issue comes to clearest and decisive expression, as we should expect, in the interpretation of Christ himself. Is Christ to be regarded as the greatest among the prophets, seers, saints of mankind, supreme in pre-eminence rather than in radical distinction of essential or substantial being? Or is he to be recognized as quite other than the foremost human leaders, of a different order of personal reality than they, so that the mere suggestion of kinship, analogy, pre-eminence is utterly inappropriate and misleading? One's answer to this question springs from one's view of the continuity or discontinuity

between Christ and ourselves. And that view in turn is determined by one's assumptions regarding the continuity or discontinuity between God and man. The classic Christological confessions of the creeds were colored, indeed controlled, by definite presuppositions on the latter point, presuppositions accepted from the prevailing Hellenism of the Graeco-Roman world.

We have said that this is the central problem for Christian faith, both its life and its thought. In the area of Christian *life*, it is the root of the somewhat hackneyed contrast between the "sect" and the "church" types of Christian community — between those who feel constrained to dwell apart from a pagan society and those who are content to dwell within the general community, in greater or less conformity to its secular ways. In the realm of *belief*, it begets two ever-present types of Christian mind which, for lack of happier designations, we may call the "modernist" and the "traditionalist" — those who seek to demonstrate Christianity's supremacy by virtue of its continuity with and fulfillment of the best of secular thought, and those who discover the authority of Christian truth in its contrast to and condemnation of prevailing viewpoints. For the Christian message amongst peoples nominally Christian, it is the single issue of the relation of Christian life and thought to the culture of the time. But for the Christian *missionary* message, it is the double issue of Christianity's relation to prevailing cultures and of its relation to the historic religions amongst which it moves.

II

For the missionary movement this issue was thrust afresh into the center of attention at the time of the Madras Conference.

It will be recalled that the only material directly concerned with Christian message which had been prepared in advance for the delegates to Madras was Dr. Hendrick Kraemer's massive work, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*. It was the major contention of Dr. Kraemer that Christian faith stands in absolute contrast to all non-Christian religions except Judaism and Islam. Other religions are "naturalistic" or "rationalistic" and therefore radically opposed to Christianity which (with Judaism and Islam) is "revelational." Between naturalistic or rationalistic religions and faith in revelation, there are no valid points of common reference. In underlying presuppositions, they stand in radical opposition and incompatibility. No

revelation of God is to be expected in the non-Christian religions. In no sense may they be regarded as preparing a way toward Christian faith, nor may the latter be thought of as completing or fulfilling their partial apprehensions of truth, since it springs from quite different foundations.

At Madras, all considerations of the Christian faith and message moved against the background of the position thus set forth. Dr. Kraemer's powerful challenge, argued with unyielding insistence and great authority, was vividly fresh in the minds of all delegates. And his personal advocacy of his conviction in the section on "The Faith by Which the Church Lives" assured that it should be driven home upon all with maximum effectiveness.

This proved to be the only theological issue upon which the Conference did not achieve unanimity. When that was discovered to be impossible, three scholars of varying viewpoints including Dr. Kraemer were set apart to define as precisely as possible the area of agreement on this central issue and the points at which difference remained. Their statement, endorsed by the Conference as a whole, declared:

> There are many non-Christian religions that claim the allegiance of large multitudes. We see and readily recognize that in them are to be found values of deep religious experience and great moral achievements. Yet we are bold enough to call men out from them to the feet of Christ. We do so because we believe that in Him alone is the full salvation which man needs.
>
> Everywhere and at all times God has been seeking to disclose Himself to men. We do not think that He has left Himself without witness in the world at any time. Furthermore, men have been seeking Him all through the ages. Often this seeking and longing have been misdirected, but there are evidences that His yearning after His children has not been without response. We see glimpses of God's light in the world of religions.
>
> As to whether the non-Christian religions as total systems of thought and life may be regarded as in some sense or to some degree manifesting God's revelation, Christians are not agreed. This is a matter urgently demanding thought and united study.

It will be recognized that the area of agreement here is very broad, embracing a recognition of spiritual worth in non-Christian faiths, of God's intention of self-disclosure to all men, and of evidences of true response among non-Christians. On only one point was agreement not complete. It is very precisely located: as to whether non-Christian religions *as such* can be regarded as showing forth divine revelation.

III

The process of further thought and united study on this point which was held to be imperative was initiated by the Conference itself through the decision to publish a volume on *The Authority of the Faith* in which the debate might be continued with fuller and more leisured exposition of the principal viewpoints than had hitherto been attempted. Dr. Kraemer was invited to contribute the introductory essay. Bemoaning the fact that "the amount of agreement and mutual understanding in regard *to this problem* reached at Madras had been so appallingly small," he set forth his main thesis in even sharper affirmation under the title "Continuity or Discontinuity?" as follows:

> The Christian revelation as the record of God's self-disclosing revelation in Jesus Christ is absolutely *sui generis*. . . . The relation of the world of spiritual realities spread out before us in Biblical realism toward the world which is manifested in the whole range of religious experience and striving is not that of continuity, but of discontinuity. . . . The various religions of mankind forbid us to construe a relation of preparation and fulfillment between these religions and Christian revelation.

In subsequent essays, seven Christians from almost as many lands and from both older and younger churches who had shared in the Madras discussions with Dr. Kraemer, set forth their answers to the same question. Of special interest is the chapter by Dr. Karl Ludvig Reichelt, founder and director of the famous Buddhist-Christian Institute near Hongkong where Buddhists may come to study Christianity and where the attempt is made to guide their thought from the highest apprehension of truth in Buddhist faith to its true fulfillment within Christianity. In this enterprise, major reliance is placed upon the Christian conception of *Logos* especially as it was developed and employed by the Alexandrian theologians. But to Dr. Kraemer, the School of Alexandria was almost the theological anti-Christ. Of Origen, he says: "He succeeded better in obscuring the true character and the cardinal content of the Christian revelation than in elucidating it. . . . Emotionally he was a Christian, intellectually he was more than half a pagan." Thus, in a comparison of these two essays, the issue is sharply drawn. All the contributors to the volume testify to their high regard for Dr. Kraemer and their personal indebtedness to his provocative polemic. In varying degrees they declare their agreement with one or another of his arguments. But, with a single exception, they find themselves unable to take up a position with

him on the issue which for him is central. This would seem to be a fairly accurate reflection of the mind of the World Church in this matter. Indeed, this volume, *The Authority of the Faith*, is as useful an introduction to the shadings of opinion in contemporary Christian thought on this decisive problem as is available.

IV

Dr. Kraemer's work was provoked by, and was written in direct refutation of, the thought of Professor W. E. Hocking of Harvard. In the World Missionary Conference at Jerusalem in 1928, his view had furnished a focus for controversy somewhat as did Dr. Kraemer at Madras ten years later. In the intervening decade, the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry had issued *Re-Thinking Missions*, the theological chapters of which are almost altogether the handiwork of Dr. Hocking and which faithfully present his interpretation of the relation of Christianity to other religions and to secular culture. Most of the discussion between Jerusalem and Madras moved in an orbit marked by the Laymen's Report and its critics. The demon which Dr. Kraemer was especially resolved to exorcise was precisely the philosophy of *Re-Thinking Missions*. As it turned out, this was not a live issue at Madras; whatever debt the missionary movement might confess to the prodigious labors of the Laymen's Inquiry, the theological position of its Report had made almost no appreciable imprint upon missionary philosophy.

Much the most important discussion of our central issue since the publication of the Madras Volume is to be found in Dr. Hocking's Hibbert Lectures, *Living Religions and a World Faith*. Here the position which had been compressed into the opening chapters of *Re-Thinking Missions* is developed with larger amplitude, more careful definition and qualification, and generous recognition of elements of truth in the condemnations which the earlier exposition had brought upon its author. There are important modifications in detail though few in underlying premises. Here Professor Hocking is mainly concerned with the working relations between existing religions in their efforts to supply the world's need for a world faith. Three alternative principles of relationship are suggested. "The Way of Radical Displacement" — the only solution which Dr. Kraemer could entertain — is summarily rejected as unsound in theory and unchristian in spirit. But "The Way of Synthesis," which many had mistakenly supposed

to be Dr. Hocking's own view, is also found to be inadequate since it tends to manifest the familiar artificialities of syncretism. Dr. Hocking proposes as the true solution "The Way of Reconception." It is his conviction that, by uniting the essence of two religions where they overlap, a stance is secured from which advance may be pressed to a still higher vantage-point which will embrace all that is valid in both, and much more beside.

The publication of Professor Hocking's book came at a moment when world communication was disrupted, men's minds were preoccupied with immediate and practical matters, and an undeclared moratorium has brought theological controversy to temporary silence. It is too early to estimate its final influence. But one may express a doubt whether this new statement of Dr. Hocking's position will be markedly more successful than the earlier version in winning the Christian world movement to acceptance of its basic premises.

V

In the five years since Madras, the discussion provoked by Dr. Kraemer's great work and further stimulated by Dr. Hocking's restatement has been continued, mainly through occasional articles in *The International Review of Missions*, CHRISTENDOM, and other journals. Examination of this literature reveals no notable fresh light on the central issue or the achievement of a fuller consensus of Christian judgment.

The two most recent books dealing with the missionary message, one by a veteran American professor of missions and the other by an Anglican of the younger generation writing from the heart of China, appear to reflect faithfully the predominant view. Dr. Edmund D. Soper defines the position he is concerned to advocate as "uniqueness together with continuity." "The uniqueness of Christianity is to be found in Jesus Christ. . . . This does not imply that God has not made himself known in other ways and in other religions. It does mean, however, that in Jesus Christ there is a quality of revelation which is so different that no other can compare with it" (*The Philosophy of the Christian World Mission*, p. 227).

Canon Geoffrey Allen discovers his mind tracing a course the reverse of that habitual with liberal missionary apologetic; namely, that which leads from catholic recognition of general revelation to a climactic appreciation of Christian revelation.

> If we start where Dr. Kraemer starts, we may then find that we have to broaden somewhat his position, so that we end where Dr. Reichelt ends. . . . Starting with the most rigid acceptance of Biblical realism, we shall, however, then find that the Bible itself leads us out beyond its own pages; from the Bible itself we learn a broad view of the reign of God, and of His self-revelation, elsewhere in the world. . . . If we are true to the Biblical revelation . . . we shall discern the presence of God in self-revelation throughout the history of all nations, in the one world that was created by Him (*The Theology of Missions*, pp. 45–47).

Each of these statements, in its own way, confirms the major findings of Madras. Indeed, that this is the prevailing outlook within the missionary movement as a whole was strikingly demonstrated in the Madras discussions themselves. Heretofore, world Christian gatherings had drawn membership principally from Europe and America, and their thought was oriented to the Atlantic Basin. It was a commonplace among those familiar with ecumenical Christian discussion that theological conviction at such meetings tended to range along a broad front with Continental traditionalism at one end, American liberalism at the opposite extreme, and British thinkers, in the role they delight to affect in theology hardly less than in politics, somewhere near the center, holding the determinative balance of influence and mediating between the embattled Continental and American viewpoints. So called "liberal theology" was identified by theologians from the old churches of Europe, and dismissed, as "*Americanismus*." At Madras for the first time, the mind of the whole Christian movement in its new world-wide scope was represented. Voices from the younger churches spoke in equal numbers if not with equal assurance alongside of Western Christians. In such a world setting, a new theological orientation disclosed itself. The proponents of traditional theology formed a very small and rather extreme right wing. Americans found themselves much closer to the center than in any previous ecumenical meeting. Those who professed what may be called a theology of "liberal evangelicalism" constituted the great bulk of the leadership of the World Church. The meaning of this fact is clear. The younger Christian churches have grown up largely under the tutelage of missionaries from Britain and North America. Their minds have been schooled in an interpretation of Christian faith more akin to "liberalism" than to "orthodoxy" or "neo-orthodoxy." While they are not unaffected by the forces which latterly have brought liberal theology under such severe criticism, and even into disrepute, in the West, it is clear that the current reaction toward traditionalism

has, on the whole, failed to impress them and claim their allegiance. The theology of the World Christian Mission is prevailingly that of liberal evangelicalism. What this may portend for the future remains as yet a matter of prophecy. But its significance should not be overlooked.

Professor Walter M. Horton's essay in the Madras Volume on *The Authority of the Faith* was entitled "Between Hocking and Kraemer." In it he traced the pilgrimage of his own mind from the Jerusalem Conference, where Dr. Hocking's influence was in the ascendency, to the Madras Conference, where Dr. Kraemer's challenge was dominant. His title accurately locates the center of missionary conviction on the crucial issue for its message — somewhere "between Hocking and Kraemer."

VI

The most painstaking and constructive effort to bridge the chasm between the two extremes of interpretation and to bring them, if not to agreement, at least to mutual understanding and appreciation, has been put forward by Professor Herbert H. Farmer of Cambridge. No one is better equipped, by temperament, by learning and by sympathy, for this difficult task of reconciliation. Contrasting the two approaches, he writes:

> This theological viewpoint (Dr. Kraemer's) . . . appears to be that the primal, basic relationship in which God stands to man is one of absolute, sovereign will; in accordance with this, the primal, basic relationship in which man is called to stand to God is conceived to be a relationship of complete and unqualified submission and obedience. Or, to put it relatively, in terms of what I suspect is the underlying theology of the opposed position, the primal relationship is not thought of as fatherly love. Of course, love is predicated of God, but the idea of love is almost wholly submerged in the idea of sovereignty. . . . It is much easier for those who set the primal emphasis on sovereignty to view the religious life of mankind on the one hand and God on the other as standing over against one another in a kind of isolation, then it is for those who set the primal emphasis on fatherly love. And this is the more so when to the original doctrine of God as sovereign will there is added the derivative doctrine of sin as rank disobedience and rebellion. Sovereign will standing over against the will of man is not . . . such a holding, binding, cleaving, seeking, yearning relationship as the love of a Father which cannot and will not let men go. . . . The approach from the angle of God's absolute sovereign will will result in what seems, to the view which approaches it more from the angle of His fatherly love, a curiously grudging and negative description of God's relation to men in their religious life, even when this is at its highest and best. . . . Or again,

man's seeking the help of God in prayer and sacrifice for his own human ends — all that side of religion which in its perversion becomes grossly eudaemonistic and egocentric — is too easily set on one side without any consideration of the possibility, which indeed to those who start from the other angle seems to be an almost self-evident necessity, that God should be interested in the ordinary everyday needs of His children in relation to the difficult and dangerous world into which He has put them, and should desire and delight in their seeking of His co-operation and help (*The Authority of the Faith*, pp. 159–161).

VII

This paper may conclude with certain general observations on the problem as formulated at the outset. We have said that the basic issue for Christian faith in every age is the relation of that faith to the world in which it finds itself. And that adjustment must be effected with respect both to belief and to life. Three considerations should be borne in mind by those who would deal soundly and helpfully with this matter:

1. Both *life* and *thought* must find their relation to their environment. But it should be carefully noted that the adjustment of thought and life is not necessarily the same. Each of us, consciously or unthinkingly, is in some measure "modernist," in some measure "traditionalist"; but we may be predominantly one in life and the other in thought. I recall the impression made by one of the most unyielding champions of theological orthodoxy when he came to take the Sunday chapel service at my own university. At two minutes before eleven, he swept up in his pretentious limousine, was armed out by a liveried chauffeur, donned a gown which failed pitiably to hide white flannel trousers, blue coat and gay tie, rushed into the pulpit, and preached. Two minutes after the benediction, he was off in his limousine and soon was cruising the coast of Maine in his private yacht with a party of wealthy friends. Probably not a person recalls the matter of his sermon; almost certainly it was a highly orthodox disquisition on the Atonement or the Virgin Birth. Few will forget the preacher. It is the Providence of God that what we are speaks so loud that men cannot hear what we say. And the champion of theological traditionalism was, in his Christian life, an unqualified and unconverted Modernist.

By the same token, the answer the Church has given on the issue of continuity of discontinuity has not always been the same with regard to its life and its thought. Of the conviction of the early church about

its *life*, there is no question; it was to keep itself uncontaminated by the world. But a dominant interpretation of the early message held that Christian *belief* was the lineal continuant and fulfillment of authentic Judaism. In striking contrast, the church of the fourth century, which was preparing to bind creedal uniformity upon the minds of its adherents at the behest of Constantine and with some assistance from Rome's strong arm, was, almost in the same act, accommodating its own structure and life increasingly to Rome's pagan government and culture. In the centuries since, Christians most insistent upon the loftiest interpretation of Christ's person have often appeared most deaf to the clear word of his direction for their life and the life of their churches.

2. Every reformulation of Christian faith, however conscientious its resolve to lay hold only of what is essential and unchanging, is inevitably swayed, colored and in some degree distorted by insistent pressures from its immediate intellectual environment. Trends in that surrounding culture lurch, by an irregular dialectic, from extreme to extreme; developments within Christian thought sway uncertainly in the wake of that dialectic, like the tail of a kite, the extreme oscillations moderated but never fully corrected by the weight of "Christian tradition." Each pressure from current thought serves Christian apologetic as both corrective and corrosive. It discloses one-sidedness and incompleteness in the prevailing Christian interpretation which it challenges; and it lures to one-sidedness and incompleteness the new Christian interpretation which it demands. From the point of view of ecumenical theology, this recognition brings three warnings: —

(a) It should warn Christian faith in our day against a too ready welcoming of the dominant interests and categories of current thought, even though they bring sound criticism and important corrective to the inadequacies of recent theology.

(b) None of the great historic theologies of the Church, even that of the so-called ecumenical councils, can furnish the structure for a sound and enduring theology for world-Christendom. For each of the great systems of Christian theology — Eastern, Roman (whether Augustinian or Thomistic), Reformation, Modern — was wrought out to meet the peculiar problems of a particular crisis in the life of the Church, and in the vocabulary and assumptions of that time. Each was, in considerable measure, "Modernism" to its day as it

sought to make its faith intelligible to the then contemporary mind. Each bears unmistakably on its face the marks of the secular assumptions of the age of its birth. Each harbors within its bosom, in varying degree, the substance of that age's life — its paganism and its sin as well as its insight and power. Each was, to its own time, modernism; and, like every modernism, has become, with the passage of the time, revered traditionalism. But no modernism can furnish essential Christianity; nor a modernism grown hoary with antiquity; but only that which is, in reality, the same yesterday, today and forever. Here is set the problem for the norm of essential Christian faith.

(c) The quest for an ecumenical Christian theology must guard itself, not only against perversion by currently prevailing interests and assumptions, but also against its own inveterate tendency to distort truth by exaggerated overstatements of its faith. For example, it is the impulse of piety to magnify the Divine Sovereignty and abase human pretension at whatever defiance to logical consistency and the assumptions of actual practice. But it is the duty of theology to discover and declare, with such accuracy as it may achieve, the exact truth of God's way with men. Exaggerated overstatements of truth unfailingly provoke equally exaggerated understatements as their rejoinders. They also tend to produce in those who declare them the falsification of truth which they so devoutly profess. Augustinian insistence upon human depravity not only breeds Pelagianism (and vice versa); it may actually tend to induce depravity in those who stress depravity. In the ecumenical enterprise particularly, it is the more difficult discovery of the precise truth of God which must be sought.

3. A distinction may be recognized between Christian faith as phrased for purposes of evangelistic preaching and Christian faith as formulated in comprehensive theology. The two must not be contradictory or inconsistent. But the former can never embrace more than a fraction of the latter — a fraction chosen for a specific immediate purpose, that of convincing and converting one who stands outside of the great, rich reality of Christian faith in all its depth and fulness.

The distinction between the "faith for preaching purposes" and the "faith in its theological fulness" is paralleled subjectively in the contrast between the impression that faith makes upon the consciousness of the hearer and the true facts in his case. God-in-Christ comes to everyone — Muslim and Jew and conventional church-Christian

hardly less than Hindu or Buddhist or bushman — as a Reality utterly different from any previously known, shattering his comfortable complacencies and assurances and presuppositions. It is the contrast between Christian faith and his former religion which strikes him. So he rightly reports his experience; for the points of contact and similarity are completely overshadowed by the radical newness and differences. But fidelity to objective truth requires us to recognize that the contrast is neither so drastic nor so absolute, the anticipation of Christ not so inconsequential or even nonexistent, as the new believer testifies. Similarly, in the relation of non-Christian religions to Christian faith. Chesterton says somewhere that the only important thing about knowing the truth is to know the really important truth. In winning men to true discipleship to Christ, the most important truth is the revolution demanded in all their earlier loyalties and assumptions. But, in the attempt to report God's good gift to mankind *in its fulness*, it is the *whole* truth which is important; and that embraces recognition of God's partial disclosures of himself to all peoples in all time.

PORTRAIT OF AN INTERNATIONALIST

By JULIUS SEELYE BIXLER

IN THE fall of 1928, while I was spending the year in Germany, an item of news in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* attracted my attention. It said that at the Goethe House in Frankfurt the prize, given annually by the city to the person who had done most to perpetuate the spirit of Goethe, had been awarded not to a poet, but to a man whose life read like a poem — Albert Schweitzer. Before sailing I had been commissioned by President Lowell to ask Schweitzer to come to Boston for the Lowell Lectures. This was the first indication that Schweitzer was in Europe and I made plans at once to see him.

I found him in the tiny Black Forest village of Königsfeld. As I left the station and walked down the one street of the village there appeared from the other end a massive, shaggy figure that I knew must be his. Schweitzer is a large man with large bones and muscles, a great shock of hair and heavy mustache, obviously a man of great vitality, able to wrestle with nature and the soil as well as with the problems of mind and spirit. To see him approach and to know that a meeting with him was imminent gave me one of the thrills of a lifetime. Let me explain why.

I

Albert Schweitzer was born in Alsace in 1875. He went to the University of Strasbourg and became at once a marked man by taking his Ph.D. degree in two different fields. Here at home we often say that a man "grows less by degrees," but in Germany he indubitably grows greater in public esteem the more degrees he has. Not only did Schweitzer win the doctorate in both theology and philosophy, but in addition he achieved, early in life, what every scholar hopes for — a book that maps out a new line of criticism and research. Schweitzer's book on *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* advanced the theory that Jesus, expecting the end of the world soon after his own death, taught an "interim" ethic or set of moral rules supposed to hold only until he appeared again. All the books on the New Testament that have been written since Schweitzer's theory was published have had to take account of it and to give reasons for agreement or disagreement.

Schweitzer was interested also in music. In Paris he studied the organ under the great French teacher Widor, becoming himself a skilled recitalist, much in demand in various parts of Europe. The records of his organ playing have had a fairly wide sale even in this country. In addition he became an authority on Bach. With Widor he brought out the definitive edition of Bach's works and Schweitzer himself is the author of the standard two volume life of Bach. Further, he studied organ construction, so that as the organs in the great cathedrals of Europe fell into disrepair, he was often called in to explain how they should be rebuilt.

He returned from Paris to Strasbourg as Professor of New Testament Interpretation at the university and Principal of the college of theology. Soon he became the organist of the Strasbourg, Paris, and Barcelona Bach Societies. His growing fame as a philosopher is shown by the fact that he was asked to deliver the funeral oration on Nietzsche at the Sorbonne. Then when still in his middle thirties he read of a mission station in equatorial Africa where a hospital and doctor were needed. With a quickness of decision that his friends say characterizes all his actions he planned to become a medical missionary. He added the M.D. to his other degrees; his wife fitted herself to be a trained nurse; and together they sailed for Africa to build a hospital.

II

Their work in Africa forms one of the great stories of achievement of our time. At the start they were opposed by both missionaries and natives. The missionaries distrusted Schweitzer because he was too radical. They made him promise not to preach but to come only as healer. Not surprisingly he soon won their confidence and the ban on his speaking was removed. The attitude of the natives made a worse problem. For a long time he was regarded as just another bit of evidence of the white man's desire to exploit them. They stole his food and medical supplies and did what they could to hamper his work. One day while he was hauling logs for his hospital he asked help from a native who was standing idly by. "Oh no," said the native, "I can't do that kind of work. I'm an intellectual." "You're lucky," said Schweitzer, "I tried to be one but it didn't fit." Finally his hospital was finished, his position with the natives established, and his work well under way, when the first World War brought collapse. As a

German Alsatian in a French mission Schweitzer found himself an enemy alien suspected by the government. Placed in an internment camp he was not allowed even to treat his sick associates until the last year of the war when he became assistant to the camp physician.

Throughout his life in camp Schweitzer had kept in trim for organ playing by regular five finger exercises on the table and by the use of a device he had rigged up to represent organ pedals. When the war was over his hospital was in ruins with no money in France or Germany for its renewal. Accordingly he went to Sweden, Switzerland, and Spain, giving lectures on Bach and playing the works of Bach and Mendelssohn. With the money earned he went back to Africa, rebuilt his hospital, and attracted to it nurses and doctors from Europe. Under his direction they set up a medical research station and succeeded in isolating the germ of one of the worst tropical diseases, so that Schweitzer can list medical research among the fields where he has excelled.

III

I need hardly go further to explain why such a thrill came over me when I saw that a conversation with this man was to be mine. I visited Schweitzer twice in Königsfeld and had an opportunity to watch how he lives. First of all I was impressed by his personal simplicity, showing itself in his casual manner and detached indifference to all except the more important concerns. Then his physical strength combined paradoxically with the extreme sensitiveness his books show to pain in both human and animal life. His world-wide influence was evident even in that tiny hamlet. Pointing to a huge pile of mail his secretary explained that he received almost daily letters from all over Europe written by people who believed that their emotional tangles would be cleared up if they were allowed to go to work in Africa with him.

Mrs. Schweitzer talked of the way her husband finds recreation by turning from one line of activity to another — from medicine to metaphysics to music. In the middle of a conversation about theology Schweitzer said something that sounded like: "Now let's have a little yots." I racked my deficient German vocabulary without avail for the word "yots" but, not wishing to spoil the temper of the occasion I said: "Yes, this is just the time for yots," and we went into the next room. Schweitzer sat down at the piano and a great light dawned on

me. Of course — "yots" is the German way of saying *jazz!* I listened with interest while he banged away on the piano his best imitation of an American dance orchestra.

IV

As we talked I was eager to see if any one of his many interests dominated the others. Finally a remark made in passing offered a clue. He said: "I think the most important quality in a religious worker is complete devotion to the truth." As he said it the various phases of his life seemed suddenly to fall into line. "When you wrote that epoch-making book on the New Testament," I thought, "your purpose was not so much to be comforting to others, much less to achieve fame for yourself, but to be true to the facts. You had in mind not your own wishes or those of your parishioners or pupils but the demands of the scholarly situation and the need of taking it on its own terms. Personal feeling yielded to the truth ideal." Later when I heard him give a Bach recital at Freiburg I felt the same suppression of personal desire before the claims of reasonable form. As he played one forgot the special tastes or prejudices of Schweitzer the man, one forgot even the individuality of Bach the composer, and heard only the eternal musical patterns that Bach heard in their logical purity and transmitted to paper for us to hear in their own right. In each case the particular interests of the individual were dominated by loyalty to truth or beauty for its own sake. A question as to Schweitzer's decision to go to Africa brought out the same quality of devotion. "Why did I go?" he asked. "Simply in the name of common justice. The white man has exploited the black man long enough. Now that the white man has discovered the healing power of medicine the least he can do is to share his knowledge with the one he has injured. If I believe this," he added, "I should go myself and not leave it to others." Truth, beauty, justice have a right to the utmost life can offer. This appears to be the heart of Schweitzer's message.

V

Yet this is not quite the whole story. When one looks over his published work one is fascinated to discover that the philosopher reverses the formula by which the man himself lives. As a living human being Schweitzer allows his desires to yield to the control of abstract reasonable ideas. Yet as a man of ideas he reaches down again to the plane

of life for the answer to the problem that the ideas bring. "Reverence for life" is his watchword as an ethical thinker. "I am life that wills to live," he says, "and as I feel the currents of life welling up in me through my desires I become aware of other life that wills to live." Thus the will to live becomes for Schweitzer not, as for Nietzsche, the will to power, but the will to love. Just as life must be controlled by reasonable idea, so idea seeks in life its own goal and the solution of its problems. In this way Schweitzer offers a meeting place for the two great streams of nineteenth century thought — Hegelian idealism with its emphasis on mind or idea and Nietzchean vitalism with its stress on living impulse. Schweitzer shows that the word may become flesh as life takes on reasonable form.

Schweitzer has been offered chances to give recitals, to lecture, and to receive high academic honors in this country, but so far he has refused to leave his African hospital. A letter received from him recently told of the safe arrival of medicines sent from America and described his work not only with the natives but with the Free French forces now occupying his section of Africa. I like to think of this man, who has written fifteen books, who holds honorary doctorates of philosophy from Prague and Zürich, of divinity from Oxford and Edinburgh, of laws from St. Andrews, and who is still writing his massive work on the philosophy of culture while healing the natives in the African Congo. Is he not a symbol of the union of "liberal" and "vocational" arts that the post-war world will desperately need? Further, this German Alsatian in a pre-war French mission in equatorial Africa now aiding the Free French and supported by money raised in Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, Holland, Great Britain and the United States seems to me to stand for the broader attitude that must come. Shall we say that international co-operation is a forlorn hope when we think of his life? And just as he appears as a miracle man to his African followers, but actually comes with science and good will, may we not believe that his achievements in international understanding will seem less magical to us when our own ignorance and greed are conquered?

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHURCHES IN LATIN AMERICA

By LUIS ALBERTO SÁNCHEZ

I MUST confess that the religious problem did not begin to interest me until some ten years ago. Although I was educated in a Catholic priests' college, I left school with an unequivocal lay obsession. I have always thought that there is nothing that hurts great causes more than to over-regulate them, or to convert them into sets of precepts inculcated from childhood. Often, the adolescent feels himself dominated by an irrepressible tendency to destroy his previous idols; and so, coming to deny everything that he used to love, he establishes the habit of negation. Afterwards the process is explained in rational and rationalistic terms. The explanations are fanciful and a posteriori. One wants to justify gallantly the change which took place; one appeals to fantastic pretexts. At least, that is what happened to me. I do not hesitate to mention the fact.

I

When I left school I had already read Anatole France and Ernest Renan. But this is only half of the story; because, while France taught me his contagious and methodic doubt, Renan taught me to admire Christ earnestly. I understand very well why the author of *The Life of Jesus* has been the object of so many reproaches, attacks and criticisms. He applied the rationalistic analysis to a fact of a very different nature; namely, the birth of Christianity. His technique was in accord with the boastful scientificism of his day. It was only to be expected that his position should be rejected by all Christians. However, from the study of his work there arose a certain devotion, which could not be said to go against the grain of my disposition. Jesus possessed all the imaginable essences of perfection. What is more, he appeared even through Renan's analysis, the very incarnation of the human hero. It was then that I felt more than ever my ignorance concerning the Crucified One. There arose in me an impulse to venerate him. But also I felt the need of not retreating a single inch from my new spiritual attitude. A blossoming intellectual must be skeptical. My university culture, which was eminently ag-

nostic, ordered that it be so. In this way, there was opened within me a period of lukewarmness and even of systematic negation with respect to every superhuman value. The result of all this was an absolute religious indifference.

There was also something external that contributed to it. During the ten years following the Peace of Versailles, we had in Latin America several spiritual movements of different kinds, but almost all of them were connected with militant politics. Now, militant politics could not rid itself of certain negative connections. One of these was the attitude that prevailed in the several churches concerning power, particularly power in the hand of government. The liberals, enemies as they were of the autocracies and oligarchies enthroned in those days, found themselves in this paradoxical position. Their adversaries were allying themselves with two antagonistic institutions: with the Catholic Church at home, and externally with the government of the United States, a Protestant country. The judgment of José Vasconcelos in this respect contains many a good lesson. In the ardors of his irrepressible passion he discovered something which in the hands of others became a most effective battering-ram to use against all sorts of errors and equivocations. I refer to Vasconcelos' simultaneous rejection of Yankee imperialism and the Protestant Church. The majority of the rest of the intellectual leaders of Latin America did the wrong thing: they eulogized, benefited from, and defended Yankee imperialism. At the same time they attacked Protestantism; some of them preferred to close their eyes to it or to limit themselves to praising a Catholicism that they did not practice. It was about 1928 or, to be more exact, towards 1930, that the religious problem took a more definite shape. The advance of Protestant missions had the effect of awakening Catholic youth from their slumber and of making them resolve to act in a more positive way. There came into being groups for philosophic research and centers of social action among students and workers. The crisis of 1929 did the rest.

I was able to observe the phenomenon directly in Peru. To my observations of that epoch I must add the points of view that I have derived from my stays in other countries, especially in the United States. There is no doubt that then, as is always the case with revolutionary movements, there appeared an intense spiritual activity. In their irrepressible desire to re-establish justice, to establish right, to assure liberty, to exercise charity, and to sing the hope of creating

or re-establishing a faith, advanced men and groups moved toward the Marxist *praxis*. But all these great words, abstract words, were now devoid of content. Their content had vanished away through the decades of exaggerated and grandiloquent oratory. There came to be talk of a "new mysticism." Young people began to attend the political chapels with an unbelievable fervor. While apparently they were abandoning the ritualistic churches, they were at the same time giving life to new rites and to new churches which, although lay, were nevertheless full of faith and hope, and of charity also: a charity that translated itself into a desire for justice. And so there appeared a new religious phenomenon: a sort of lay *religiosity*, if you please. It moved away from established creeds; but, nevertheless, it was linked deeply with the essence of man, with his most profound desires and his most exalted aspirations. Those who believe that social action is an enemy to faith and to generosity and to self-denial, do not know that some true mystics attained to that attitude by following the terrible roads of desperation and disillusionment.

II

Now, coming to the concrete case of the Christian Churches, Catholic and Protestant, there is no doubt that there has occurred between them a very curious and very similar competition both in South and North America. In the United States, the growing impetus of the Catholic Church has mobilized the Protestants, not in the sense of attempting to stop the Catholics, but rather in the sense that the Protestants have revised their conduct, increased their fervor, augmented their action, and refined their faith. In Latin America we have had the opposite phenomenon, although not to so pronounced a degree. That is, that the growth of the Evangelical movement has stimulated the Catholics to purify themselves, to face their essential problem, and to recover their catechistic enterprise. A good example of this can be found in what happened in Lima two years ago. A group of eminent Catholic professors gave a series of lectures about Protestantism. It is true that the object was to attack it; the fact remains that they had never paid so much attention to it before.

The Evangelical missions have obtained considerable progress among the Indians of some regions like Cuzco and Puno — that is, in general, the shores of Lake Titicaca — and this in spite of the fact that here is the very locus of popular devotion to the Virgin of Co-

pacabana. That countryside had felt the impact of the evangelistic preaching. A witness of unimpeachable authority, Luis E. Valcárcel, Director of the Archeological Museum of Lima, says that the Protestant missions are opening a way for themselves among the Quechua and Aimara communities of that district which, as we should remember, is one of the strongest citadels of Andean "latifundism"; that is to say, the dominance of the community by the great land owners. It would be far-fetched to infer a relation of cause and effect between latifundium and Protestantism; but one must not discard the influence of this fact upon the mentality of individuals. I mean the fact of a definite revolt against a temporal power that oppresses the individual and the search for a spiritual power that defends him. If we compare this with what happens among the Negroes of the United States, we shall have another illustration of the same fact that needs only mention here. The Negroes of the United States are the easier to win to any new creed, even the one of Father Divine, because they think that they have discovered a certain collusion between the temporal power and the present authorities of the spiritual power — the churches. At least they think that they are able to prove a certain conformity between the two.

We must also not neglect the fact that among the extrinsic reasons of this phenomenon of discontent with the prevailing religious situation one of the most important ones is the impulse not to conform to conventionality, the discredit of authority, the urgency of free inquiry. In this phrase, "free inquiry," we touch one of the fundamental phases of the question. If we state the question frankly we may perhaps by so doing contribute to its solution.

Apparently, whenever one speaks of free inquiry he is commonly understood to mean something that is typical of Protestantism and which constituted a basic idea of the Reformation. However, I have observed something different in the United States. Catholics there are noted for their tolerance, for their spirit of understanding, for their breadth both in ideology and sentiment. Consequently, in the United States, I have seen Catholic priests taking part in ceremonies side by side with Protestant ministers, without any sign of repugnance on the part of the Catholics. That would never happen in Latin America. The tolerant attitude displayed by North American Catholics is very different from the dogmatic position taken by ecclesiastical authorities in Latin America. But, on the other hand,

the rigidity of the Protestant authorities in Latin America is similar to the habit of following a routine which is so much deplored by those North American Protestants who have thought about the problem and studied it objectively. I remember something which happened to me two years ago. I had written something about the punctuality with which Evangelicals attend their weekly services. A cultured Evangelical told me with a certain sad irony: "If you had wanted to make fun of our religious lukewarmness, you could not have said anything more pat."

Be that as it may, the propensity for free inquiry has been healthy, for more than one reason, in the field of Latin American ideas. Of course, devotion to free inquiry has not always been characteristic of the Reformed religion (the Boston Puritans were far from being that way), nor solely of the Reformed religion. It is the characteristic also of all movements that do not exercise absolute power in a given region, that is, of movements which have not attained to totality. I am not discussing dogma as such. I do not have in mind the individual dissenter, whether he remains within his childhood church but develops his own point of view or whether he has changed from one church to another. What I have in mind is action of a profounder order — that action which, in opposition to the ideology of a country or of a continent, involves the appearance of discrepant voices. Nor do I mean discrepancy in the episodic field of politics, where everybody disagrees, but in the fundamental field of beliefs. When this field is forgotten, everybody agrees in it because nobody rethinks it. The contribution of every minority movement has always been to compel a people to re-think their problems and to reconsider their dogmas. That contribution works for the clarification of the ideological positions.

In the present case the clarifying minority movement is Protestantism. I am aware that some people will find in this statement a reason to classify me as belonging to some given religious sector. But they would do better if, checking their tendency to simplification, — that great malady of our time — they would think it over a bit and realize that what I am trying to do is to analyze objectively the interaction of two religious currents as important as the Catholic and the Protestant. With respect to these two currents one can assume different attitudes, but it is impossible to deny their contrasting influence on the two fundamental groups of the New World:

Canada and the United States on the one side, and the French section of Canada and Latin America on the other.

For a time, especially between 1920 and 1930, a good portion of Latin American resistance to Protestant action took shape in the campaign against the Y.M.C.A., which has been, more than once, the object of the severe castigation of Vasconcelos. The new Catholic Youth Associations put aside the strictly liturgical and official patterns followed by the old Church Associations in order to range themselves against the Y.M.C.A.

Out of this conflict there appeared something worthy of attention: the renaissance among youth of the meaning of physical activity in the form of sports (some would call it "Dionysiac") and the beginning of the use of sports in religious propaganda. Theretofore, to be a believer or a pious person had meant to be contemplative, inactive, quiet. Thenceforth there was no more contradiction between activity and faith, between the strengthening of the body and the strengthening of the soul. Let me emphasize the fact that it was then, and only then, that the Middle Ages came to the end in the religious field.

III

But there is something much more important even than that.

Nobody can doubt for a minute that the Catholics in Latin America constitute an overwhelming majority as compared with the Protestants. What is more, the Protestants are distributed in small, isolated nuclei. It is permissible, therefore, to define Latin America as a Catholic continent in the same manner that the United States, in spite of its twenty-two million Catholics, is called a Protestant country.

But, within the scope of what has just been said, it is useful to examine an aspect worthy of more extended meditation. The nuclei won over by Protestantism in a campaign of less than fifty years are found, mainly, (a) in the Indian communities located in those districts where the scourge of latifundism has been more evident; (b) in certain sectors of what is commonly referred to as the lower middle class; and (c) among some Negroes and artisans. On the other hand, Catholicism, in its second bloom and new activity during the last twenty years, has advanced among the higher classes, among certain groups of workers, and among the intellectuals.

I am not trying to establish unshakeable principles here; I simply

allow myself only, by way of conjecture, to sketch an explanation of these facts.

In the first place, workers in their role of Marxist catechumens stick more to the letter of certain slogans than to the spirit of historical materialism itself. They have therefore, become atheistic under the maxim that religion is the opiate of the people. This watchword was annunciated by Marx as a terrestrial protest and as a hope, terrestrial also, opposed to a superterrestrial outlook and a superterrestrial hope. On the other hand, the artisans, who become less and less in number as the days go by, and the lower middle class, live at a level below the worker's, though they are obliged to spend more since they have education and a different mentality. For them, therefore, it is not enough to repeat watchwords; they need to fulfill their yearnings for the Infinite in some efficient form. They are dissatisfied and "politized," that is to say, driven to seek remedies for their ills through political action. In other words, their dissatisfactions demand consolations and promises of a definite ultra-terrestrial nature. On the other hand, in so far as they go in for political action they often feel alienated from their native church because some of the leaders of this church play temporal politics rather than eternal politics. They turn their eyes therefore, almost exclusively, to the ethical field. From dogma they pass to conduct; that is to put conduct first. And, in view of the fact that Latin American Protestantism has no connections with the ruling political forces, of which they consider themselves victims; and in view of the further fact that the Evangelicals keep themselves within the sphere of Christian activity, the lower middle class gravitates towards Protestantism. Even though it may not be in great numbers, nevertheless the rate is worthy of notice.

Something similar happens among the Indian communities. Since 1880, radical and lay propaganda has directed its attacks against certain local authorities that previously exercised all-embracing power. We must not forget that *Aves Sin Nido* (Birds Without Nest, a famous Peruvian novel by Clotilde Matto de Turner, published in 1889) was directed against the clergy and has had influence even into this day. In Ecuador, Sergio Núñez has published *Tierra de Lobos* (Land of Wolves) where he poses a number of religious problems relating to the churches. We must not forget either that a great lover of the Indians, Moisés Sáenz, from Mexico, who died as an

Ambassador in Lima in 1941, belonged to a Reformed church. It is my understanding that several influential *indigenists* [students of domestic affairs] of Bolivia, Ecuador and Southern Peru are in the same case.

IV

On the other hand, the intellectuals generally, in the past, have maintained themselves aloof from religious movements. Now they do the same thing as regards Protestantism. They have rallied in considerable numbers to reinforce the Catholic squares, either by returning to militant religion or else by backing Catholic institutions. Catholic universities have contributed greatly to this work. Connected with some of these universities are personalities of first magnitude. The work initiated by the confessional colleges has its logical crowning in such universities. The confessional or congregational colleges have been preferred almost always by the aristocratic families. The most vigorous nuclei of Latin American political leaders are formed by alumni of the Jesuit and Sacred Heart Colleges. Recently in Lima three of the nine Ministers of State were accorded a tribute by their former fellow students because the three honored ones had been students of the Sacred Heart Colleges. The predilection for these colleges has been fostered in part by cultural tradition, both Spanish and French. On the other hand, it has been felt that English or North American colleges lacked the "quality" of the French ones; that they were good only to produce practical men, such as merchants and accountants. They have accordingly been regarded as inferior. Their clientele never came, or almost never, from the leading classes, but from the middle ones. Perhaps there are exceptions among some Chilean and Argentinian circles.

One may say that all this has no proper relation to the level of an intellectual's life. Not in Europe nor in the United States. But it certainly has such a relation in Latin America. Our intellectuals are not able to make a living by their vocations. We do not have full-time professors. We do not have sufficient readers for books published. Our newspapers do not have a decent circulation. All these are connected problems that result in the subjection of the intellectual to the political status quo. Intellectuals, therefore, are not interested in transcendental problems, except the social ones. In Argentina there is a certain interest in philosophical problems. The

intellectual finds himself dissatisfied. He has had a lay education if he is above his thirties; he has had a militant Catholic education if he is under his thirties. He needs spiritual support. These situations are not absolute, but they apply to a remarkably large majority of persons. Therefore they may be regarded as typical.

V

The religious problem in Latin America is serious because our habits are polemical, aggressive, intolerant and arise from a totalitarian mentality. Therefore, religious debate degenerates into personal and political clash. Christianity suffers thereby. And we must bear in mind that Christianity is the foundation of our building and the heart of our civilization.

Consequently, a specious argument comes to the fore, an argument that has a certain strength. It runs thus: "In view of the fact that every religious debate degenerates into a personal clash, to the detriment of essential Christianity, would it not be wiser to avoid those debates?" An answer could be made as follows: "How can they be avoided? Through freedom and persuasion or by the means of force?" This answer poses immediately another fundamental problem: "Is it good for the integral development of a people to suppress or abridge the freedom of debate, the freedom of spiritual inquiry, the freedom of the search for truth, the freedom of the desire for internal adjustment?"

A North American friend of mine was present when I was talking about the liberal and enterprising spirit of the Catholics in the United States. He told me: "Those are the advantages of competition." If we could apply this principle to South America there would be much to hope for from the competition between Catholics and Protestants. It is needless to talk about other religious denominations because literally they are non-existent there. Christianity possesses the hegemony of the whole continent, but Catholicism is immensely in the majority in Latin America. However, I repeat: there is no doubt that the predominately social action of the Reformed churches through their several organizations (among which the Salvation Army has earned for itself great sympathy from workers and people of humble means) has produced by reaction a sort of militant renaissance among Catholic youth. This is for the greater good of Christianity. The rivalry of the Reformed teaching has been also a spur to

awaken Catholic apologetics which had been somewhat dormant. A definite milestone in this respect was established recently when a series of lectures was given in Lima under the auspices of the Catholic University, concerning the spread of Protestantism. The intellectuals are thus forced to take notice of the religious aspect of Existence, and of moral values, and of dogma. They have started to examine charity with all care — in its practice and not merely in its simple statement. Charity now is identified with social relief, which is the modern and practical way of translating into fact that which in another sense is considered to be a theological virtue.

It is interesting to observe, for instance in Chile, the candid and sober proselytism carried on by the so-called "Canutes" (they derive their name from Mr. Kanuth). The "Canutes" confess their sins in public. One must notice also the evolution of the Evangelical mission of Temuco. The Catholic Church answers to all this by closing its ranks, by preparing new leaders, by activating its social work and by creating or allowing the creation of organizations as dynamic and respectable as the "Falange Nacional" (a Falange that has nothing in common with the Spanish Falange), which counts in its ranks young disciples of Jacques Maritain and followers of Neo-Thomism. I mean people of liberal ideas in the social and political realm and of the most genuine practical Christian faith.

It is probable that the undaunted courage of Mexican Catholicism may have been its way of reacting to a similar problem.

It is contrasts such as these that invigorate the conscience of a people, exalt its aspirations, cleanse its passions, and put it in touch with the essential and permanent problems of Existence. In such an hour as the present one, in which every effort must be joined for the reconstruction of a world shattered by war, in an hour in which all those who feel solidarity with their fellow beings, united to them by a deep purpose of social justice, have the imperative duty of pooling their energies together, there are many who would like to see a united effort for the sake of a supreme end such as the defense of Christian civilization.

THE YOUNGER CHURCHES RE-THINK MISSIONS

By T. T. LEW

TO WRITE in any adequate fashion on the future of missions as anticipated by the Younger Churches, would require a conference with the leaders of the Younger Churches in many lands and personal interviews with a sufficient number of men and women from a cross-section of the Christian movement throughout the world. This paper is written primarily from the standpoint of China. One who has been absent from the field since Pearl Harbor with very little up-to-date printed material for reference has to fall back upon the personal contacts, experience, and knowledge of two years ago. I do not therefore write in any sense officially, not even for my own Church, and still less for the National Christian Council of China, although I am an official representative of both while I am in the United States. What is written here thus represents a personal opinion, which is, however, based upon the general opinion of a cross-section of Christian leaders in China so far as I have been able to ascertain from the experience of the last twenty-five years' service. In this paper I am trying to present a few of the outstanding problems that first come to the mind of the average Chinese when he looks forward to the post-war world in his thinking about Christian missions. This is a presentation of types of problems rather than an exhaustive listing.

I

The revision of the unequal treaties between China and the Western Powers has begun. The removal of the condition of extraterritoriality will give the missionary a new status in China. His new status will be no more and no less than that of any foreign resident in a modern, civilized country. It will be defined by appropriate legal statutes. We anticipate that such a normal status will further improve the relationship between missionaries and the people whom they serve. But extraterritoriality has been in sway for a century and has resulted in certain psychological patterns. I do not think we can anticipate a sudden change; we anticipate, rather, a period of mental re-education and readjustments. To some missionaries this may require adjustments that call for a strong reserve of

Christian patience and other virtues. A great deal of searching self-examination and a revision of habits in thought and action will have to be made. We anticipate that such efforts may be necessary, by both missionaries and Chinese.

This raises the question of the return of the missionary. We expect that many will return. Some will never return if they see all the implications of a new era, and do not feel that they are equal to its demands. Others will wish to return, expecting to follow the old ways of life without modification. These are the ones who, perhaps, would be better off remaining at home. We anticipate a large increase in the number of missionaries, expecially immediately following the war. But we also look to a more thoughtful selection in the light of the needs and conditions of the new era.

This also raises the question of the character of future missionary service. The organized churches in general will need many missionaries who are neither experts nor executives, but the general run of pastors, both men and women, teachers, evangelists, qualified to render general helpful and useful service — missionaries of a general utility type to stand by as companions in general routine and drudgery. But such persons must understand clearly the nature of the service they will be called upon to render, and should be able to find spiritual satisfaction therein. Such services will continue to be needed and will be appreciated by those of the Younger Churches upon whom will rest the responsibility of administration.

There is, in contrast to this, a general anticipation, which has become more articulate recently, that missionaries in the new era should be more of the "expert" type; that is, persons well prepared in certain specific lines, and perhaps already mature in experience in their home countries. They will come out to China as experts to advise the Church along certain specific lines and to perform specified, definite tasks. The executive type will decrease in number. There may be the necessity of shifting a certain number of those who are already in executive positions to the positions of experts — experts in advising. This fact should be made clear to missionaries before they decide to return.

II

We are anticipating increasing co-operation between the governments of the United Nations in relief work, in social welfare, and in

cultural enterprises. These types of co-operation will inevitably affect Christian missionary work, especially in its institutional aspects. This will perhaps affect the financial support of Christian institutional work in China by the Churches in the sending countries. We anticipate that such co-operation between China and other governments will achieve happy success and result in increasing cordiality and better international understanding. Naturally governments cannot directly promote enterprises of the Christian Church. There may, however, be ways open for Christian missions to co-operate with government in the various lines of helpfulness. To what extent the distinctively Christian character of institutions receiving assistance from government can be still effectively maintained, remains to be seen.

The Christian institutional work — schools, hospitals, colleges and universities — has been established in China after years of toil and devotion on the part of missionaries and Chinese co-workers with self-sacrificial gifts from the constituencies in the sending countries. These institutions have proved to be perhaps the most effective part of mission work in China, and the part of mission work that is most appreciated by the general public. Their maintenance and extension should be the continued concern of the Christians in the West. The co-operation between governments in the services in which the Christian institutions have been interested will undoubtedly confirm the public judgment of the value of Christian institutional work. The mission boards may be tempted, however, to feel that they should be relieved of some of their responsibilities by turning over at least a part of the burdens of support wherever they may find an opportunity to unload them.

We anticipate the gradual but steady taking over of the responsibilities of institutional work by the Younger Churches and the constituents who are directly concerned with them. But the process will be a slow one, and there will also be a necessary period of special hardship immediately after the war, when the Younger Churches will be facing the loss and devastation due to the war, and some of them will have to "start from scratch." The situation, on the other hand, will demand a forward movement, and not a retreat, from the pre-war achievement. Not to go forward will be to go backward, especially at such a time as this of world-wide demand for reconstruction of all cultural agencies.

III

China has been engaged in a death struggle with the anti-democratic, imperialistic aggression of the enemy. We have implicit faith in the ultimate triumph of our cause and believe that the United Nations will win the war before long. We hope that the Atlantic Charter and the program of the Four Freedoms will "cash in." Whether or not the principles of the Four Freedoms are in actual practice in war-time, we anticipate a new era after the war; and that, in China as well as in the other countries, democracy will develop, not only in general principles and implications, but also in specific ways of national life. Modern political machinery according to democratic principles will be built up and put into actual operation. The promise of the present Government of China, setting a definite time within which the representative assembly will be elected to adopt the permanent Constitution, is one step toward that goal. It is to be anticipated that the general movement of the nation toward democracy will be more favorable to the growth of the Christian Church than a movement toward totalitarianism or a semi-democratic set-up.

But we are also conscious of the fact that in a democracy majorities rule. Christians are in the minority in China — less than one per cent of the total population. This minority has been an influential minority in recent years and its influence has been entirely out of proportion to its number. This influence, in its final analysis, is due to the sturdy character and exemplary life of many Chinese Christians and their missionary associates — their simple faith and their steady devotion to the Christian cause. Some of them have suffered martyrdom in more than one way. But their influence is also due partly to the specially advantageous position which missionaries have occupied, making them able to secure entree to political authorities, to enjoy special protection in times of turmoil, and to render service under circumstances which are difficult. The influence is further due to the pioneer work of the Christian institutions, especially those of education and of social and public service. For this pioneering work, the Christian Movement in China has reaped a good harvest.

In the post-war era, we anticipate a steady growth in democratic ways in our national life. The fact of being a minority which has been temporarily influential will not insure the Christian movement the continuous influence it has enjoyed in recent years unless the Chris-

tian missions are able to double and treble their efforts in helping the Chinese Church to expand and to grow in every way possible, so as to outgrow this minority status and offset the disadvantages that are shared by any minority group in a growing democracy.

IV

It has been an open secret that imperialism practiced by the nations which send missionaries has been one of the serious stumbling blocks to the evangelization of the Far East. It has been the severest burden to the Christian conscience in general and for Christian leaders in particular. Some of the most trusted Christian leaders in China, not only respected by the Chinese but also highly valued and loved by the missionaries, have died with open wounds in their spiritual lives, inflicted consciously or unconsciously by the effects of Western imperialism which has colored and conditioned the attitude and manners and point of view of some of the missionaries.

The post-war world will, I am afraid, catch the Christian missions again in a sort of spiritual sleeping-sickness unless there is a rude awakening by the Spirit at this time. The silence of Chinese Christians on this phase of missionary work and missionary life has been partly due to customary Chinese deference to teachers and friends, partly due to the spiritual strength of Christian leaders humbly remembering their own shortcomings and the teachings of the parable of the wheat and tares. Among the missionaries themselves there has been also no dearth of great spirits who have had the courage to express themselves — men such as the late Dr. Henry Hodgkin, and the present Bishop of Hongkong, the Rt. Rev. Ronald R. O. Hall. Their utterances have been cautious and limited, but even so they have had salutary effects. Yet in many instances the oppressive silence, the careful soft-pedaling, sometimes even the bland denial and refusal to see the implications, have been almost fatal. The Younger Churches are longing for a new era in which no missionaries can be regarded as subtle defenders of or silent accessories in the crime of aggressive imperialism — political, economic, or cultural — by the countries which they severally represent. If they had known how much their associates in the Younger Churches, who love them devotedly, have had to suffer silently, while they themselves complacently ignored the situation, some of the missionaries would ere now have either withdrawn from the field or mended their ways.

In the new era the Younger Churches anticipate a new crop of missionaries who will be fully aware of this situation and able to maintain constant sensitivity on these fundamental matters.

One who comes from a family which has maintained the Christian fellowship with the British missionaries for four successive generations, and who has enjoyed personal active comradeship in Christian service with some of them for over a quarter of a century, shares with many others very deep concern over this question. He has profound appreciation of the contribution which the missionaries from Great Britain and the Dominions of Canada and Australia have made to the Younger Churches in China. It is his conviction that the success of the leadership of British Churches in the World Council of Churches in the post-war world will not only depend upon how well they can work with the Churches in Western Christendom, but also upon the extent to which the British Churches and their missionaries are able to win the confidence of the Younger Churches.

It is his personal hope, therefore, that some missionaries, preferably those who come from the great British Commonwealth, will voluntarily take up this burden, making an impartial, scientific study of imperialism and its effect upon Christian work in the Younger Churches. And it is his hope that mission board authorities will have the courage to publish widely the results of such a study in an unexpurgated edition. Such a step would prepare for the new era as no other step of post-war planning can probably do. Thus will be given a chance for the growth of a healthier spiritual tissue in the body ecclesiastic and in the friendship and fellowship which have otherwise been most attractive and almost ideal. It will be of great help in counterattacking the anti-Christian propaganda which has been gathering strength among the younger generation in the last few decades. This critical opposition no longer takes the form of hasty generalizations and youthful outbursts based on hearsay; but has become more reasonable and factual, being based on keen observation backed by technical and incisive judgment. It is temporarily *sub rosa*, but it will burst out in a quiet flame of fury unless the cause for it is removed.

V

The Younger Churches in China anticipate that missions will not enter into the new era of the post-war world without some thorough-

going planning. Here, it seems to them, is a precious, God-given opportunity, with several thousands of missionaries repatriated and many pieces of work breaking up or at least in a state of suspension. The return of missionaries to their respective homelands offers a splendid opportunity for participation in planning in detachment from their own specific projects to which they have devoted their whole lives, — so that more home constituents can, under the able leadership of the board secretaries, have direct opportunity of thinking together and planning together with them. The suspension of certain pieces of work may afford the opportunity of effecting changes, securing co-ordination and consolidation, which either were not possible, or were very difficult, in the pre-war period. There are certain difficulties involved in effecting ideal planning, certain expectations which have been more or less articulately expressed. I shall mention them briefly.

1. Such planning must be under the leadership of the board secretaries in the sending countries. Their difficulties seem to me to lie in the usual shortage of staff and overwhelming mass of details which they must attend to in order to keep the wheels running. The constant pressure in meeting needs and fulfilling the obligations of commitments already made usually keeps their noses to the grindstone, making it difficult for their eyes always to see many miles ahead. The danger is that any scheme of planning will be caught in the complicated machinery of the committee system, which requires unflagging attention to proper representation, meticulous parliamentary procedure, and to minutes and reports — energy-draining both to those who write them and those who are expected to read them. Perhaps such difficulties are unavoidable, but it may be helpful to set apart a certain number of people from the boards' staffs, to work with a few laymen and devise a simpler machinery for this special purpose.

2. The greatest danger in such planning is that of having all plans made in the sending countries, producing finished products with the label, "Made in New York or London," and then of presenting them to the Younger Churches, in very courteous and proper ways, for adoption and acceptance. But this spirit of "Take it or leave it" cannot be hidden even between the lines. The Younger Churches anticipate that all post-war planning of missions should be made *with* the Younger Churches, not *for* the Younger Churches.

3. In any scheme of post-war planning, material things in the form of funds, endowments, buildings, equipment, will unquestionably occupy a considerable proportion of time and thought. Personalities will indeed be considered and discussed; but past experiences have shown that the personalities so considered are limited to missionaries. In a way, this is rightly so; but the problems of personality in successful mission work do not confine themselves to missionaries. The Younger Churches anticipate that the post-war planning of Christian Missions will (1) give due attention to the problems of interaction of personalities between missionaries and the Chinese co-workers, and that (2) when an issue involves the conflict between material things and personalities, exceptional care shall be taken to subordinate the consideration of material things to the consideration of personality.

4. In post-war planning for missions, the force of immediate needs, of continuing the life and existence of established work will be tremendous. But if we yield to this force indiscriminately, no effective planning for the new era can be done. The Younger Churches anticipate that those who do the post-war planning will be statesmanlike and — to use a Chinese expression — will go at it with "great swords and broad axes." Some heartbreaking lopping-off and cruel resistance to appeals may have to be as part of the necessary unpleasantness, and this will require a great heart of sympathy and understanding as well as great skill and determination.

5. In the planning of any project for the new era, standards must be set high; as a Chinese ancient has said, "If you aim at the top, you will only get the middle; and if you are aiming at the middle, you will only reach the bottom." The Younger Churches anticipate that whatever the post-war planning includes, it must be measured by the highest standards.

6. The Christian Missionary Movement has been growing, particularly in China, in a rather haphazard fashion, with nearly thirty nations sending representatives — this resulting in over a hundred denominational organizations and agencies. Very few of them had any thought-out long-range plan. The work has prospered, not because of this condition, but in spite of it. The Younger Churches anticipate that a better co-ordinated plan of long-range objectives will be made at this juncture, so that it will meet the world which thinks in nothing less than terms of five-year plans.

7. The problem of local differences and specific needs will require special attention in this post-war planning, as in any other planning, of missionary work. But there is a growing articulate anticipation on the part of the Younger Churches that in any future planning we must give very much greater attention than heretofore to work on a nation-wide basis. While local needs are imperative, yet in the new era, this national consciousness and effort toward national unity will push local needs into the background in order to make way for national development.

8. The limited resources of Christendom to meet the unlimited opportunities of the new era call out once more for interdenominational co-operation, not only in the use of material resources, but also in the employment of man-power. The Younger Churches anticipate a businesslike, statesmanlike pooling of experts and technical men in mission work. Their selection, training, and assignment should be worked out on an interdenominational basis, and to serve the Chinese Christian movement as a whole. Only in this way can many of the needs, long felt and unfulfilled, be met.

9. The greater part of the current mission budget is used to pay the salaries of missionaries; comparatively a very small part of the funds sent over is clearly designated for the use of the work involving Chinese personnel and Chinese constituencies. But the whole budget is raised in the West in the name of missionary work in China. There has been a growing dissatisfaction on the part of Chinese Christians and of non-Christians who have had occasion to experience it, with the appeal made by mission authorities to the churches in the sending countries for funds to be used in the receiving countries. Sensitive minds have greatly regretted the necessity of their country and people being used as objects of appeal for help; and the regrets have been greater when the appeals were made on the basis of an unnecessarily ugly portrayal of Chinese conditions; and then the response was relatively meagre! Chinese Christians, of course, appreciate the efforts and the good will behind such efforts, and are grateful for the continuous interest and endeavor to help China. They wish to do their part to hasten the day when such appeals will be no longer necessary. But they do hope that any future appeal (1) will give a fair and not a one-sided picture of Chinese conditions, and that (2) it will make clear to the givers how much is asked for the support of missionaries in the field, and how much is asked for other aspects of the work,

so that the amount of direct benefits received is made clear. This does not mean that the Younger Churches do not appreciate the tremendous value of the service of missionaries in the total scheme of things; but it does mean the clearing away of certain misunderstandings.

10. Finally, any change or expansion that is to be expected on the part of the Younger Churches in post-war planning, that is not supported by a corresponding plan for the re-education of the mission-supporting home constituency in the sending countries will find the task of securing support that much more difficult. The work of the missionary churches has been in good hands, but anyone who has taken even a humble part in that work will have found the task most difficult and intricate. Progress has been made in recent years, but the Younger Churches anticipate that much more radical changes should be made. It is not their privilege, however, to direct or even to suggest what should or should not be done; but their appreciation of what has been done and of what will be required in the future compels them to say that perhaps even in this sphere, post-war planning of mission work should also be made with the co-operation of the Younger Churches. The presentation of needs to the sending churches, the definition of the work, the reasons for assistance from senior churches, might better be made jointly. Certain indications along these lines are already manifest. The Younger Churches anticipate that greater future attention will be given to this phase.

These are rather elementary and self-evident suggestions. I have roughly listed them in this paper in the spirit of the Chinese poet who said, "By throwing out bricks yourself, you may call forth jades from others."

One cannot write on "the future of missions as anticipated by the Younger Churches," without feeling a profound sense of gratitude to those faithful servants who have year after year borne the heavy burdens of keeping the great machinery of missions going, as well as to the great body of the Christian laity who support them. Six years of war experience have also further deepened the affection of the Chinese toward those missionaries who have stood their ground in sacrificial devotion and unfailing fulfillment of duty in the face of danger and difficulty. The Younger Churches anticipate that the international fellowship of the Christian Church in China will remain forever an integral part of her life, even when the time comes that the Younger Churches are capable of shouldering all their burdens and responsibilities alone.

THE RE-EDUCATION OF THE HOME CHURCH

By LUMAN J. SHAFER

WHY speak of re-education to the new tasks of missions, when the primary job of education has not yet been adequately done? I heard of a church the other day where one of the elders said to a visiting minister, "That sermon was a good one for the missionary people in our church. They were thrilled by it, but you see some of us don't go for that kind of thing. We figure that there are enough heathen here at home to keep us busy for awhile. Anyhow, other people's religions are good enough for them, and why should we try to proselytize them?"

I

It should not surprise us that there have been so many people in our churches to whom this statement rings true. We are just emerging from a period in the life of the church when it was considered unenlightened to speak of absolutes and "thou shalts" in religion. Everything was thought to be relative and tentative, and there were no final answers. Belief was a matter of one's own personal choice. What a man decided to believe was true for him, but that did not necessarily make it true for someone else. Of course an American ought to be a Christian, because the church was an established part of the American way of life. It gave certification to the good things we have here. It helped make a man a decent citizen. Christianity was not like science, something you had to reckon with because it was true, but it was merely one aspect of decent living in a civilized country such as this. Other countries might choose some other way of life; that was a matter of complete indifference to us. They are different anyhow, and that's all right with us so long as they let us alone. Why interfere with them and try to press upon them something that was intended primarily for us anyhow?

There are signs that the tragic events of the day are making their own impact upon this casualness and irresponsibility in the churches. It is becoming clear now that beliefs do matter; that there are truths

and falsehoods in faith; that nations geared to false beliefs are a menace to mankind. More people in the churches are now prepared to realize that Christianity is ultimate truth; that it represents not the projection of man's hopes or the product of his search, but the revelation of the moral order which lies at the heart of the universe; that if it is true at all, it is true for all men, and that human life must be organized in harmony with its principles if humanity is to escape disaster. More people are in a mood to ask humbly, What must I do? They are belatedly recognizing that one does not ask questions of the universe, but the universe asks questions of us; and our response is governed not by what we may arbitrarily choose, but by what is in the nature of the case the prescribed response. The imperatives of the Gospel, the "thou shalts," are again about to become imperatives for Christians.

In any case, it is idle to attempt to build a missionary program on anything else than the conviction that Christianity is ultimate and absolute truth; that it is beliefs that matter, and therefore that the aim of missions is primarily to change men's beliefs.

II

There has been a tendency to emphasize the appeals of missionary work which are directly related to human uplift — medical work, agricultural reconstruction, and the like. Much recent missionary literature intended for laymen amply illustrates this. It has been necessary to do so because this kind of missionary work was about the only thing that would interest them. The demands of the post-war years for relief and reconstruction will accentuate this emphasis, and missionary folk will be tempted to play this up as the great new thing in missions. It will be a way of bringing missionary work back into the stream of thinking, because everybody, including government, is now interested and concerned with the problem of reconstruction.

It would be disastrous if Christians were not interested in human welfare, and if relief and reconstruction did not bulk large in the missionary program of the years ahead. Christianity is not merely a matter of belief; it is belief translated into life and the Christian missionary would be less than a Christian if he were not concerned with poverty, disease, malnutrition and ignorance wherever he finds them. But the missionary movement is not a humanitarian movement, and the humanitarian aspects of the program of missions cease to be of

significance for the future of mankind unless they are unmistakably linked with Christian faith. It is not tenderness for men that motivates Christian charity, but the love of God.

The education of the church to the great tasks of relief and reconstruction is fraught with grave dangers. Christians should rejoice that the great stream of secular interest is merging with the concern of the church. For, as Vera Micheles Dean has said, there are indications that that long neglected aspect of life, human welfare, is now being given primary consideration. The missionary effort of the churches must throw its weight into this movement. Missionary institutions must seek to serve and missionary candidates will need to offer themselves for service either in the missions themselves or with government. But the danger lies in the interpretation that is put upon this in the churches. It will be congenial to the temper that has prevailed to make this work an end in itself; to undertake it from not very different motives from that of the community at large. This would result in a still further weakening of the basic missionary motive. We shall need to put the program of relief and reconstruction in its proper setting, as the inevitable outreach of a faith. It will need to be kept clear that no real reconstruction is ever achieved until the individual person is reoriented to a faith.

If the basic task of missions is not seen to be the reconstruction of the whole of life around faith in God in Christ, the future of the whole missionary program is in jeopardy. For it is clear that in large areas where missions are at work native governments are taking over education, public health, medical services, human welfare, agricultural reconstruction, and other like activities. There is a vast amount of work of this character still to be done, but if the missionary motive is to be deflected into this channel and this type of work is to be made the main drive of missions, a time will come in the not far distant future when it will seem that there is no longer a need for the missionary movement, and the main task — the Christianization of a culture in its central core — will still remain to be done.

III

The missionary movement in its inner purpose and its dynamic drive will not be very different in the post-war world, if it is to remain a *missionary* movement, from what it has been since the days of the Apostle Paul. There is reason to hope that the tragic events of the

past decade will have had their effect in convincing more people in the churches of the utter necessity of missionary effort. But, while the motive is unchanged and the movement is essentially the same, it will have to be carried on under quite different conditions. This will call for a sharp reorientation at many points on the part of those concerned in the churches.

The changes brought about by the war will be so drastic that the missionary effort of the churches will have to be re-examined and redirected if it is to be effective. Many of these changes have been in progress for longer or shorter periods, but most of them will inevitably be accelerated by the world upheaval through which we are passing. This will be conspicuously true of the growing intensification of national and cultural self-consciousness. A co-operative world order, should such be developed after the war, would remove many of the causes which have produced the violent aberrations of nationalism, but a shrinking world means more and more frequent and intimate contacts between nations and peoples, and this will inevitably result in an enhanced consciousness of difference and a desire to magnify one's own native culture.

This will present difficulties to Christian missions, but it cannot but have a salutary effect in the long run. Christianity must now stand on its own merits. The missionary will no longer hold a superior position as a Westerner. This will make it possible for him to identify himself more readily with the people among whom he lives. "You are no longer outsiders but comrades," said Chiang Kai-shek, speaking to the missionaries in Chungking, after the action of Britain and America had removed privileges hitherto claimed by Westerners.

The growing secularization of life both of East and West, while presenting new difficulties, will at the same time be of real service in this connection. The Christian mission is being lifted out of the older antithesis between Western Christianity and Eastern religions. In the world of tomorrow the sharper conflict will be between a spiritual interpretation of man and his world and one that entirely ignores other-worldly considerations. Alike in New York and in Bombay, in London and Chungking, Christianity will face the task of Christianizing a secular and pagan culture. It will stand out more clearly, not as a product of Western civilization, but as a universal religion in tension with all culture which is not centered in God and motivated by the Christian ethic.

There is a distinct advantage in these developments, but at the same time these demand drastic changes in the attitudes and methods of the mission. The increase in cultural self-consciousness will tend to emphasize the "foreignness" of Christian ideas and the Christian church as an institution. It was inevitable that the early missionary should not have distinguished between what was essentially Christian in the Western theological interpretation of Christianity and its institutional life. He took with him *all* of Christianity as he understood it. This resulted in the development of churches in Asia and Africa with the same thought forms, the same type buildings, the same hymns and forms of worship as those of the West. Most of the native religions had not developed group worship at all. The temples and shrines were places to which people went singly to worship. Group activity was confined to great festivals and even at these group worship was unknown. Consequently, the church as a worshipping group and the church as a society, in most cases with a Western style building, was a "foreign" importation. The language of the Christians was also exotic. New terms had to be discovered to express Christian ideas, and these sounded strange to the masses of the people.

It would be out of place to say that it could have been otherwise. If the Christian faith is to act as the cement to hold the world together, it must retain its universality. Its very uniqueness makes it a stranger to all human culture. But, with the growing national self-consciousness of the present period, Christianity must come to grips with these national cultures. This is the most urgent of the problems which Christians will face in the post-war world.

IV

This will call for greater sympathy and understanding on the part of Christians in our churches with the leaders of the churches abroad. We will need to be able to appreciate new thought forms and new customs and accept them as legitimate vehicles for the expression of Christianity. There will be great gains in this. The values and insights of other religions will be incorporated into the stream of Christian tradition in the process of indigenization. Where Christianity has been deflected in the West, as by Rousseau, to a false individualism, it will find a corrective in the highly developed family system of the East. On the other hand, the defects of the family system, which have often ignored and repressed the individual, will find their corrective

in the truer understanding of the dignity and worth of the individual in Western Christianity. New types of Christians will develop and will make their contribution to the totality of the Christian fellowship. The amalgam of the best in the noble Confucian ethic of China with the dynamic of a warm Christian faith, exemplified so completely in the life of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, kindles the imagination of Christians everywhere to the possibilities of Christianity as a world faith. Kagawa thrilled many in the days before the war because the teachings of Christ were seen in him in Japanese expression. An increasingly intimate contact with these Christians who have made the adjustment of Christianity to the ancient cultures of the East should be one development of the years ahead, and this should serve as a distinct stimulus to the life of the church in America.

V

There is another distinct gain to be seen in this new relationship, in a saner attitude toward other religions. Most of the discussion of this problem in the past has been on the basis of the attitude of *Western* Christianity to *Oriental* religions. This approach has now been made obsolete by the advent of the world church. Those who have come out of those faiths are now members of this church. Their understanding of other religions is not academic; rather the nuances of religious value in them have been felt in their own experience. Thus, when the world church confronts other faiths today it is no longer Western traditional Christianity over against Oriental religion, but it is Western Christianity plus the new insight and understanding of Oriental Christians that speaks. The statement of Madras thus comes to us with new authority:

> There are many non-Christian religions that claim the allegiance of multitudes. We see and readily recognize that in them are to be found values of deep religious experience and great moral achievement. Yet we are bold enough to call men out from them to the feet of Christ. We do so because we believe that in Him alone is the full salvation which man needs.

Oriental Christians will be able to bring to us a truer appreciation of other religions, and will help the people in our churches to overcome the diffidence or the indifference which has prevented many from active participation in the aggressive presentation of the claims of Christianity to those of other faiths. Such a book as that by Dr. Y. C. Yang, President of Soochow University, *China's Religious*

Heritage, in which a Chinese Christian looks at the religious traditions of his own country, is an example of the kind of thing we may expect to increase in volume in the church of tomorrow.

The very success of the missionary movement in developing leadership in the churches of the countries where it has gone, however, presents one of the principal problems of the Christian advance in the post-war world. There are resources of money and personnel among us which must be put to work in as rapid an expansion of the Christian church as is possible. This is essential to the life of the church, both at home and abroad, and it is only thus that the world church can adequately discharge its responsibility in the post-war world. But growing cultural self-consciousness in country after country has inevitably had its effect upon the national leadership of the churches. The presence of missionaries associated with the church accents its "foreignness" among patriotic non-Christians. National Christians are sensitive to this criticism. Missionaries who have not in the past sufficiently sympathized with native culture and national aspirations have further contributed to this feeling. Christians themselves, in the nature of the case, must take the responsibility for the Christianization of their own people. To share that responsibility with Christians from other lands seems somehow to deny them this sense of obligation. Even with the channeling off of intense nationalisms in a co-operative world, if that can be achieved at the end of the war, this feeling is not likely to diminish appreciably. It is more probable that in countries such as China and India, where a new nationhood is developing, this situation will be aggravated. Dr. W. B. Djang, Secretary of the Church of Christ in China, in an address in Chungking almost immediately after the announcement of the withdrawal of extra-territoriality, emphasized that with this new international status the Christian movement must become a religious movement "*in* China and *of* China" with complete independence for the Chinese Church. This is a normal development and must be forwarded as rapidly as possible in all countries.

VI

How, then, can the maximum of help be given to an indigenous Christian church without doing violence to its own independent thought and life? This is the problem that the Christian statesmanship in these churches and the churches of the West must solve. One

thing is clear. The missionary of the new age will have to be a comrade and not a manager. He will have to learn to work with and under the Christian leadership of the native churches. At the same time he must have something to contribute and he must be able to initiate and be aggressive in evangelism without being aggressive in spirit. The spirit of comradeship will need to permeate the whole Christian fellowship. The thinking of the past which has required the terms "sending and receiving churches" will need to be abandoned in missionary circles. Even the terms which we have been using, "older and younger churches," are inadequate. The whole philosophy of Christian advance requires drastic reorientation. We shall need to think of the world church, in which each church takes its place and makes its contribution. Money and personnel will need to flow from the more developed areas to those places where there is most need. But this must be provided for by a strategy determined, not by one church or group of churches alone, but by the world fellowship as a whole. What type of organization will be required for this is not yet clear. But the difficulties and problems of the new day just dawning cannot be adequately met with the ideas and the organization of the past. If the world church is to be made a functioning reality, it must take the responsibility for its extension and growth in world terms and not in the terms of the relationships of older and younger, or sending and receiving churches of the past.

This will require first of all a quite different spirit in our own churches in North America. The patronizing attitude of the past must go. This goes back, in many cases quite unconsciously, to the racial ideas that are common among us. We, the superior beings, were dispensing our benevolence to those less fortunate than ourselves. It is interesting to trace the attitude in our churches toward missionary work in Japan. There was a time when Japan was at the feet of the West, and sending missionaries satisfied our sense of racial superiority. Up to the Russo-Japanese War we spoke with pride of the "clever little Japanese" who were learning our ways so well. Then, as Japan began to go her own independent way and challenged us in the markets of the world, our day of patronizing was at an end. The keen interest in missionary work in Japan accordingly diminished and we turned to other places where our beneficent efforts were more appreciated. This formulation may be somewhat overdrawn; but we need seriously to re-examine ourselves as we face

the task of the world mission. Fortunately, the period of happy patronizing is passing, but other attitudes are taking its place which are almost equally dangerous. In our reaction against the attitudes of the past, which sprang largely from our complacent sense of racial superiority, we now tend to do two things: either we idealize our Christian comrades in other lands, refusing to accept them as our peers and fellow Christians of other races; or, we idealize their cultures and their religions, and refuse to press the claim of Christianity. We shall need to make a new attempt to achieve the true spirit of comradeship in the Church of Christ — the spirit which accepts the Christians of other lands as our brothers and fellow-workers for Christ, and the spirit which, with them, can face squarely and fearlessly the fact that without Christ pagan Western civilization and pagan Eastern cultures alike are inadequate for the redemption of humanity. The world mission of the church today is the task of the world church, and it can prevail only as, within a suitable framework, it is carried on in this spirit.

A PREFACE TO RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

By STEWART G. COLE and BERNARD HELLER

I

A DEFINITION of religious pluralism and its opposite, religious absolutism, is in order. Religious pluralism may be characterized as a philosophy of religion which attributes value and validity to faiths other than one's own, and which attempts to develop a working relationship among them all based on democratic principles. The only limitation that the pluralist places upon a religious philosophy is that it should not sanction acts which are antisocial or flout moral principles which are universally revered. The religious pluralist, despite his recognition of the right of people to express their religious impulse in any form which they believe is proper, would, for example, be uneasy about granting freedom to a faith which affirms that it is glorious to die for the Emperor or the State. The religious pluralist would frown upon voodooism or the erstwhile polygamous practices of Mormons. Aside from such provisos the pluralist deems it a duty, as a world-minded person, to attempt to bring diverse religious faiths into functional relationships.

The pluralist conceives religion to be essentially the spiritual orientation and affirmation of an individual or a group. And since individuals and groups are never identical in perspective, their religious viewpoints are therefore bound to vary. The degree of variation will depend on a host of differences. They may be of a social, economic or psychological nature. The pluralist feels that it is too much to expect the religious attitudes and practices of a farmer from the wheat-belt of Kansas, whose day is spent in expansive fields and under a vaulted sky, to be identical with the religious outlook and demeanor of a factory worker in an industrial center whose day is monopolized in attending to electrically-driven machines.

William James classified individuals into two categories — the tough-minded and tender-minded. The former manifest a proclivity toward scientific and mechanical pursuits, while the latter veer to social and mystical expressions. The religious aspirations of one type can never be said to be identical with those of the other type, even if their representatives frequent the same church, sing the same hymns,

and verbally profess the same creed. If this is the case with individuals or groups who live in one country and are the inheritors of one national tradition, how much more is this the case with people who hail from divergent races and cultures?

These distinctions obtain for the religious pluralist who conceives religion to be a social or psychological phenomenon. We must, however, not ignore the fact that pluralists insist also upon including in their definition of religion convictions about the nature of the cosmos and man, the meaning and destiny of human existence, and many other such questions. Those who deem the metaphysical factor an integral element of any faith are prone to adjudge religions by their philosophical affirmations as well as by their techniques or their pragmatic expression. The religious pluralist therefore believes that the more religions there are with distinctive metaphysical tenets and ethical emphases, the richer will be our total knowledge of man's quest for God. Knowledge of the Divine is not only as deep but as variant as the sea. The more we know about the currents and the swellings of waves, the better shall we appreciate the majesty of the sea and utilize such knowledge for man's good.

II

Religious absolutism, a philosophy antagonistic to religious pluralism, maintains that the spiritual mode of life which is worthy of man's highest loyalty, represents not merely *a* way to truth and goodness, but *the* only way to truth and goodness. The way to truth and goodness is represented by one royal road and not by a multitude of tortuous paths that emanate from divergent points. The religious absolutist believes that differences of environmental conditions or cultural antecedents do not justify any modification of the essential philosophical position. The religion of a people conforms to the true type to the extent to which it approximates the one which is deemed to be authentic. Religious differences ought therefore to be eschewed. At best, some may be tolerated. Such toleration may be the product of a sense of impotency in making the refractory groups adopt the true faith; or the popular and powerful faith may practice forbearance and charity toward those whom they regard as in religious error, with the hope that tolerance and a friendly relationship may in time induce them to see and accept the true faith. The religious absolutist, therefore, is committed to a program of missionary activity which knows no geo-

graphic boundary nor cultural demarcation, and is indisposed to look with democratic esteem upon the spiritual legacy of other peoples.

The religious absolutist would consider the social and psychological claims of the pluralist in the same way as he would the contention of an individual who insists that there are no objective laws of dietetics because every person manifests tastes for different menus. If religion concerns itself with truth, especially divine truth, it dare not allow itself to be esteemed merely as the product of a mood. The latter varies with men, time and place. The God of such religion is not the Rock of Ages, but an unstable substance whose pattern is determined by the vessel which contains it.

III

Religious pluralism and absolutism represent two approaches to an appraisal of the universe, man and life. Each is generated by different interests and inclinations, if not by a particular bent of mind. The pluralist is impelled by the desire to attain immediate and tangible values. He is like the individual who enters a beautiful garden with plots of variegated flowers. He is struck and overwhelmed by the riotous display of color, the manifold shapes and forms, as well as the distinctive aroma of each plant. In due time and by a process of appreciative understanding of the art of gardening he also becomes enchanted by the singular pattern of the variegated plots and the all-embracing relationship of each plot to the whole garden.

On the other hand, the absolutist is not content with purposeful relationships. He is in search for the essence which determines distinctive forms and appearances. If he should enter the same garden as the pluralist, his interest would be directed to the discovery of the chemical composition of each flower and to the factors and causes which are responsible for the particular color, shape and fragrance of each plant. And, having discovered what he believes to be the fundamental essence of flowers and horticulture, he wills to make this interpretative principle the authoritative rule governing the art of gardening.

Both the pluralist and the absolutist are lured by the prospect of reducing the "many" to a "unity" and to have the "many" subsumed under an all-embracing principle. The former is disposed to seek a functional unity, the latter a metaphysical identity. The first, having developed a working relation of reciprocal advantage and profound

meaning among the parts, encourages their freest expression within this democratic bond; the second, having established a commanding principle affording harmony and giving ultimate meaning to the parts, is inclined to assume a mandatory control over them.

IV

The pluralist discovers ample justification for his claims on behalf of varieties of religious expression. Consider:

1. Nature is characterized by many and heterogeneous facts. There is a countless multiplicity of species both in the inorganic and organic realms. Even the genus "man" presents to us an astounding diversity of biological and psychological manifestations. The rabbi in the Talmud is to be credited with a keen observation in his comment on the Scriptural sentence, "Man was made in the image of God." Said he: "Look how marvelous are the works of the Almighty. When man constructs things conforming to the pattern of a specific die, as for example, the coining of metallic currencies, each coin is identical with the other. No two men, however, are found to be identical, though each was made in the image of God. Each person is a distinct and separate entity."
2. Differentiation is an index of development and advancement. When the universe was in its infancy and inchoate, we are told that it was a mere swirling ball of fire from which pieces were thrown off and out of which there emerged galactic systems and numberless planets, some of which were conducive to the emergence of life. The amoeba is an homogeneous and unitary cell. The higher creatures, however, represent a multitude of diverse structures and functions.
3. All beings in nature are the products of the past and the present. Antecedent and contemporary events go to mold and determine their character. The history and environment of no two things are identical. This is infinitely more evident in the case of living organisms, of ethnic groups, and of intelligent and sensitive persons. Diversity and plurality therefore are factors which the scientifically minded dare not ignore.
4. The most noteworthy attribute of a thing or a person is not that which is common to all of its kind, but that which is peculiar and

distinctive to it alone. A table acquires its value not because it is made of wood but primarily because of its specific functions. If in addition, it is made of an extra fine quality of wood, its value is enhanced, it is true. But as a table its uniqueness and worth come not from the substance of which it is made, but from the special function for which it was intended. Nations and groups and individuals would cease to be what they are if they allowed their distinctiveness and their social and cultural uniqueness to become pulverized and reduced into a drab and colorless homogeneity. Human beings are not unlike fractions. Their denominators can be reduced to like terms, but never their numerators.

5. Similarly, the pluralist takes account of many religious modes of expression, even in the traditions which profess to be catholic or which adhere to an undeviating orthodoxy. In Judaism there was no period when it was devoid of sects with their diverse interpretations of the nature and will of God. The daughter religion discloses a similar tendency. For instance, there is the one historic Jesus but a plurality of Christs of faith. This is evident not only in the New Testament records but in the views of the Apostolic Fathers, the scholastic thinkers and contemporary liberal theologians. As for the masses of the devotees of both the Judaic and the Christian traditions, the religious expression of each country, yes, even of each region within a country, affords evidence of a distinctive manner and practice of its own.

V

The pluralist also derives empirical support for his monistic postulations. Consider:

1. Reality presents many aspects. The array, however, is not anarchic. They proceed not unlike the constituent groups in a parade. They march in step and with rhythm. We do not have to be phenomenalists and brand the world of sense as a mere apparition, the shadow of some noumenal or transcendental essence or principle, to become aware of the oneness of reality. We are struck by the unity of nature even if we refuse to dive beneath the undulating waves and the eddies of the ever-changing surface of the ocean.

2. There is truth as well as truths. It is this fact that enables us to communicate ideas and exchange experiences. Truth, like language, is marked by diversity of grammatical forms and meanings associated with the formations of letters. These differences, however, are not to be considered as the result of differences of thought processes. The language of the people of the United States falls into many classifications. The English of the Southerner, the Kentucky mountaineer, the Brooklynite, and the Bostonian are far from being the same. Yet there is something which makes them akin and justifies a common designation. The sectional dialects are comparable to truths; the national and common speech is like unto Truth.
3. Religion as a social phenomenon also implies a consciousness of unity. Religious devotees feel a kinship with one another. They sense and avow a belief in a common origin and a common destiny; but above all, there is an ever-present common orientation. The eyes of all worshippers are directed to the one God, the Father of all living flesh. Vital religion must, therefore, imply a binding together of man and man into a universal brotherhood, and a binding together of all of them with him who is the source of their strength and the cynosure of their hopes. High religion, therefore, has always stressed the affirmation of one humanity, just as it stressed the affirmation of one God.
4. An examination of the various types of religious faiths disclose mystical attitudes and ethical practices which constitute the common denominator of all the enduring faiths. For example, all of them feel in varying degrees of clarity that there is in nature a Power which evokes their awe and homage, and that he is akin to them in that infinitely sublime attributes of personality best describe his character, and that he is solicitous of their welfare. These religions also are one in paying tribute to fundamental moral doctrines which are incorporated in documents like the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount.

VI

These two attitudes of the pluralist need not be antithetical. Each approach is necessary and complements the other. Their synthesis does not constitute an artificial mating, but rather a relationship

without which our perspective would become blurred and astigmatic. We are proposing an integrative and directive type of pluralism.

For example, the universe man surveys and in which he moves is like a mosaic. It includes an infinitude of items and aspects. They all, however, give the impression of being related and unified. To the discerning mind they even tell a story which is fraught with spiritual and ethical significance. Now, if one should allow himself to become absorbed with the aspect of nature which reveals unity and neglect the phase which betokens endless variety, one would get a picture not of all reality, but only of a part of reality. The true artist never allows himself to become so enamored by the intent and meaning of the object of his creation as to forget the important role which a correct portrayal of the parts plays in the disclosure of his major purpose. William James was right in warning us that without the consciousness of the pluralistic make-up of nature, we would be in danger of reducing reality to the "block universe" of Hegel. It must not be forgotten, he said, that the universe is also a multiverse.

If, on the other hand, we are disposed to see in reality merely a whirl of discreet impressions and cogitations whose values are ephemeral and whose meanings are specious, then we fail fully to appreciate the drama of life. We survey no cosmic panorama with constellations and planets moving in orderly courses. What we see are rockets that shoot out into the night from nowhere and glow and blaze with multicolored brightness, only to simmer out after a brief interval, leaving the night as dark as it was before their advent. When we allow our attention to become monopolized only by a part, we not only fail to discern the grandeur and the majesty of the whole, but we are prone to consider the other parts as useless and meaningless, and perhaps also as bad. Besides, if we persist in looking at nature only as a series of fragments, we shall not rid ourselves of the disposition to intolerance. For when we direct our gaze to prescribed phases of nature only, we may fall in the trap of deprecating other phases of nature. And deprecations often have a way of degenerating into bigoted denunciations.

The synthesis of the manyness and the unity aspects of religious pluralism is possible and desirable. Each appraisal rests upon empirical bases, and their functional relation provides for a superior ground of religious faith and action. On the contrary, absolutist religion, which regards its insights alone to be worthy of the divine

imprimatur, and considers its legacy as the sole custodian of *the* truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, is bound to look upon any divergent tradition as a false and dangerous heresy and its witting exponents as sons of Beelzebub. Edwin Markham, in his quatrain, "Outwitted," has characterized the attitudes of absolutist and pluralist in their approaches to religion:

> He drew a circle that shut me out —
> Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout,
> But love and I had the wit to win:
> We drew a circle that shut him in!

VII

Today we yearn and pray for peace. To attain the goal, it is now realized we must clear the path leading to peace of all ideological stumbling blocks. We are now absorbed in the colossal and most costly effort to remove a formidable obstruction in the form of a vicious political creed which sanctions aggression and ruthless domination over many peoples.

Unless we foster and achieve a better understanding and mutual respect between religious outlooks, the way to peace will not be free of pits and snares. The viewpoint which is here proposed is a venture toward such an understanding.

JAPAN IN THE POST-WAR WORLD

By FRED D. GEALY

GEOGRAPHY, both physical and human, has destined that Japan shall lose the war. The Japanese can never be more than a minority people in the midst of three continental powers, China, Russia, and the United States of America, and eventually her destiny must depend on them. If England, even in the heyday of its imperial power, could not single-handed control the continent of Europe, neither can Japan alone bring all Asia under its sway. It is of course true that there exists a disparity in technological advancement between Japan and other Asiatic peoples to a degree that has never been the case between England and the peoples of continental Europe. Yet, even so, it is later than Japan thinks. And if her venture ever could have been successful, that time is past.

For fifty years, Japan has played the part of a revolutionary minority group, attempting to expand itself into a power-position which would transcend the natural limitations which geography and history have set for this island kingdom. And now in a final and gigantic effort she has brought into the war against her every Pacific power except Russia, in a desperate attempt to bend them to her will or to expel them from the entire area. For those who lead the people of Japan today it is a war to win all or to lose all. It is a final gamble with total stakes.

I

The first reaction of the United Nations to this catastrophe is that Japan has wrought incalculable harm to all Pacific peoples in precipitating war and in bringing to an end the political structure which characterized the Pacific basin until December 7, 1941. Yet, from another point of view, in precipitating a war which she cannot win, but which is of sufficient magnitude to destroy the traditional political structure, Japan is rendering a service of incalculable benefit to the entire Pacific area, provided we are capable of using the opportunity with constructive imagination.

The total Pacific area is now in a state of fluidity such as it has never before known. Now is the time to establish a new Pacific order

in line with the realities and needs of the twentieth century, which will initiate a new deal in reference to the nascent nationalisms and the equally important supranationalism for which our time cries out. If the victory which we shall win is not to be thrown away, a persistent effort must be made to educate all Pacific peoples for the peace which is to come. The importance, therefore, of a design for peace can hardly be overestimated.

The Axis Powers have well-defined plans for the organization of all areas brought under their control, which they are prepared to apply with rigor and without delay. The United Nations, however, due to their ideological differences, their lingering concern for empire, their uncertain faith in the self-determination of nations, and the more loosely integrated political pattern characteristic of the genius of democracy, are, in comparison, greatly disadvantaged, as far as unity and clarity of plan and consequent swiftness of action are concerned. Yet, the order to cease firing will create a vacuum which we must be prepared to fill, or chaos on a vast scale will ensue. Our designs for a new order must therefore be worked out with haste, with full attention to details, and in free and widespread discussion — the only way compatible with democratic faith. It is only by full and free discussion that the peoples of the Pacific can be educated to produce and to support a desirable solution to the problems of the post-war world. There should therefore be no delay in precipitating popular and widespread debate as to the new Pacific order among all Pacific peoples, as far as this is at present possible. Reluctance to discuss such problems as the place of Japan in the post-war world, Russia in the Pacific, the future of Korea, Manchuria, China, French Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, can only be folly from which we shall reap a dreadful harvest; it will leave us totally unprepared for the peace; and if we are not prepared for peace we shall lose it.

During the conduct of the war and with as little delay as possible the United Nations must arrive at substantial agreement as to the principles which shall determine the new peace organization, and, as far as possible, in the specific disposition of all Pacific areas within the new Pacific structure. Preparation for the peace therefore demands fullest consideration of war aims, and the projection of a wide variety of plans in order that all people may be aware of the problems that are sure to arise and of the adjustments that may need

to be made if these vast and complex problems are to be handled with understanding.

II

To clarify our war aims in the Pacific, certain negations need first to be made. Our ability to deal constructively with the total problem will depend on whether or not we can agree on these negative war aims. It should be made clear (1) that we are not fighting to restore any *status quo ante*. We are not fighting to restore the Indies to Holland, Malaya to Britain, or French Indo-China to France; or to retain the extraterritorial rights which the Powers have had in China, or to restore China to its position prior either to 1842, 1895, or 1931. The United Nations should be free to deal with the total Pacific area in the light of present realities and future desirabilities, without the necessity, for instance, of leaving Australia white, of restoring Formosa or Manchuria to China, of granting Korea immediate and absolute independence, or refusing Russia access to a warm Pacific port. All of these problems should be dealt with afresh and disposed of in the light of present needs. The war is not being fought just to settle old grudges.

2. We are not fighting to maintain the white man's supremacy in the Pacific. In the nineteenth century sense, this is neither possible nor desirable. If on the one hand it is highly undesirable for the West that Asia be consolidated under the slogan "Asia for the Asiatics," it is equally undesirable for the Orient that the Western hemisphere should be conceived under the pattern "America for the Americans," or that the Pacific area should be organized in terms of an "American" or an "Anglo-Saxon Century." A way must be found whereby the total resources of the area can be made available to the total area in a measure that approximates justice and equality.

It must be admitted that it will require very great restraint after the war for the white man not to attempt to consolidate himself in the dominant power-position. The war in the Pacific will be won pretty largely by his machines and by his men. So far as the Pacific is concerned, at present it is the North American continent that is the arsenal of democracy. The United States must necessarily play the most conspicuous part in winning the war. It will have to be for the most part our service men and our ships and planes that will drive the Japanese out of their conquered territories, destroy their

lines of communication, and reduce Japan to submission. It will be our last straw which will break the Japanese camel's back in China. Thus we shall emerge from the conflict the dominant military power in the Pacific. As possessing a monopoly of force, we shall be tempted to establish an "American Century" in the Pacific, unless we have sufficient vision to see that the time has come for a genuinely new order, the foundations of which it will be our privilege to lay in enduring fashion. We shall have to use our power-position with the utmost care even during the course of the war, or we may lose the friendship of China before the war is won. Our relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China should be followed by the repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Act, thus permitting all Orientals, even Japanese, to become American citizens. With the war progressing in our favor, this could not be interpreted as weakness by our enemies.

3. Again, we are not fighting to destroy, or even merely to defeat Japan. No negative war aim, however radical it may be, can of itself be sufficient. In current literature two attitudes in regard to Japan are commonly manifested, both of which are seriously objectionable. We are commonly told that we must "teach Japan a lesson;" that she must be shown that "war does not pay." Heretofore she has always gained by war; now she must be shown that war cannot again be profitable for her; then she will turn from her sin into the paths of peace. The fallacy in this moralizing attitude is twofold: lessons are neither taught nor learned in this way. We tried to teach Germany that lesson in 1918, but the lesson was not learned. It is the pedagogy which is at fault.

Again, that war does not pay, is not, as a general statement, true. It does pay some people. If we win the war, we expect that in certain ways it will pay us, or some of us. And it will.

We are further told that we must "utterly destroy" and "completely crush" Japan. This is a very dangerous attitude. In the first place, it is a radically negative attitude towards a complex human problem, and one which will prevent in those who hold it the exercise of constructive imagination with reference to a permanent solution. Although the Japanese are a minority people in the Pacific, they will always be a significant minority. Their dynamic aggressive qualities, their various abilities, are such as to prevent them from ever becoming quiescent. And unless they are allowed a place in the world in which they can be respected and self-respecting they will

be a perpetual source of trouble. No important human problem can be given a negative solution. We shall have to learn how to deal constructively with all our minority group problems.

It must of course be made plain to the Japanese that as destroyers we can match them, and that we shall proceed to destroy their ships, their planes, their armies, and their industries to the extent that this is necessary to bring them to submission. Beyond this point, however, there can be no justification for the wanton destruction of their cities and of their people.

Furthermore, the "utter destruction" program fails to appreciate the value to the world of the great and unique gifts of the Japanese people. Because of the power-conflicts in modern history, on the whole it is only the mean, vulgar, treacherous, and savage aspects of Japanese life that are known to the world. Yet, in spite of these, the Japanese are a people endowed with rare gifts which should be allowed to make their enriching contribution to the total culture of mankind. A positive approach to the problem of Japan will recognize this. Our task is to find a way to set the good in Japan free from the evil, for our own sakes as well as for theirs. We should cease fighting as soon as a responsible government in Japan will agree to co-operate in the new Pacific structure, as outlined by the United Nations.

There must be a "New Order in Greater East Asia," a "Greater East Asia Sphere of Co-Prosperity," "Hakko ichiu," eight spheres beneath one roof, many nations under one great state, the world as one family. Only this New Order will not be dictated by Japan. It will be established by the United Nations, and Japan must fit into it as one part of the Pacific world. The war must indeed be continued until Japan's power potential is reduced to the point where she will consent to co-operate in this new structure. Yet every effort should be made to induce Japan to yield before utter destruction takes place. To facilitate this matter, plans for the peace structure should be worked out in as great detail as possible, plans which will assure Japan a place of honor and which will make it clear to her people that capitulation will not be ruinous.

We should be imaginative enough to know that it will be an almost unbearable humiliation for Japan to yield its position of naval and military leadership in Asia and the Pacific. The wound can be healed only (a) if there is projected a new Pacific structure in which the place vacated by Japan is assumed by no single power, and (b)

if Japan is accorded a position of honor in which her gifts of leadership can be constructively used in the establishment of a structure which will be of greater real benefit than her own proposed New Order.

4. Finally, we are not fighting to establish an era of unbridled Oriental nationalisms. It is not worth fighting Japan to check her unwarranted national ambition only to release in its stead in other parts of Asia a succession of nationalist movements with consequent intensification of the struggle for power in ever-widening circles. The nascent nationalisms in the Far East represent huge blocks of people. To a degree we ought to encourage them. Yet nationalism is heady wine, and those who drink it are not going to be easily integrated into any Pacific structure. Nevertheless, if the opportunity presented by the present war slips away the task will become progressively more difficult and we may look forward only to bigger and better wars.

III

If we could be agreed on these negative war aims, the decks would be cleared for positive action. In fact, we should then be compelled to constructive thought in formulating positive war aims, in setting up an educational program to promote them, and in the endeavor even during the course of the war to lay the foundations on which the peace structure shall be built. If we cannot do this, the end of the war will bring profound disillusionment, it will release bitter and irreconcilable animosities between the members of the United Nations, and the end will be cynicism, despair, tragedy. In the larger sense we shall have lost the war. Now is the time when we shall have to move forward into new world organization or total victory will be total defeat.

The problem of immediate and paramount importance at the end of the war will not have to do with the place of Japan in the post-war world; rather will it concern the kind of total Pacific structure to be erected. A lasting peace in the Orient cannot be constructed simply on the defeat of Japan, or even on its total destruction. Even if Japan were completely eradicated as a problem, the major problems of the Pacific would still remain: Russia, Manchuria, Korea, China, French Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, Burma, India, the Indies, the numberless islands of the South Seas, Australia and New Zealand, and the Americas.

At the present time there is too much discussion of the question as to what a proper punishment for Japan should be and not enough consideration of the larger framework of a new Pacific order within which alone all the details of the present chaos, including Japan, may be reduced to order.

As a preface for peace in the Pacific we may consider three specific problems, each one of which will be as difficult of solution as will be the disposal of Japan, and each one of which leads to the conclusion that there can be no solution — even an approximate one — for any Pacific problem, outside of the framework of a new Pacific structure.

1. In the first place, our ally China will be no less difficult a problem after the war than she was before. Her vast populace will still be in dire need of radical reconstruction, educational, political, economic and technological. It is difficult to see how China can take the place of leadership in the Pacific, which is due her large population and her strategic position in Asia, unless she is rapidly aided into forms of self-government, into coherent statehood, into economic rehabilitation after the pattern of an industrial civilization. This vast work of reconstruction the Chinese cannot perform by themselves alone in time to participate as China should participate in the new order. Yet unless we can advance beyond the nineteenth-century pattern of international relationships China will again be submerged into quasi-colonial status. Her creditors will destroy her essential sovereignty. If the United Nations become the creditor and exploiting nations the Chinese people may well develop an intense hatred for them, and will turn to Japan and India for sympathy and in further revolt against the West.

Again, as China today thinks of the historic wrongs inflicted against her by both the West and Japan, as she now sees an opportunity both to win rights of sovereignty as against the West and, with the aid of the West, to secure triumph over her Oriental enemy, Japan, it would only be natural for her to aspire to replace Japan as single and supreme arbiter of power in the Pacific. Unless the Chinese too can be brought to see the need of a genuinely new Pacific structure, we may find that we have helped China win the war against Japan only to discover that in the process we have pushed ourselves completely out of Asia. China should not indeed be denied the right to present a case for return to the pre-1842 status. Yet the case should be de-

cided not merely with reference to the past but also and primarily with reference to the needs of the future. The United Nations should agree in advance that all land areas should be disposed of, not in reference to the restoration of any *status quo ante*, but in reference to the needs of the new Pacific structure. Adjudication here will be difficult but it must be attempted if history is to move forward. The new order cannot succeed if it is supposed that Japan, as the defeated power, must make all the sacrifices. Every power will have to make its share: China, Britain, Holland, and the United States.

2. The disposal of the great block of peoples and lands comprising Southeast Asia will constitute a second problem of annoying proportions. Malaya should certainly not be returned to Britain, nor the Indies to the Netherlands, nor French Indo-China to France. Yet these lands should not fall into the possession of any other single power. The nascent nationalisms should be to a degree honored; here too the difficult and thankless task of supervising the modernization of peoples and the development of natural resources, cannot be entrusted to any single power. If the disposition of the Indies is to find anything like an adequate solution, it must find it within the framework of a new Pacific structure.

There should be no illusions about the difficulties in finding an adequate integration in the New Pacific for this vast and important area. For some time, control will need to be in the hands of foreign powers. This will present them with all the old opportunities for exploitation of native peoples. Such exploitation can be checked only (a) if the United Nations agree beforehand that all colonial peoples shall be prepared as rapidly as possible for self-government; and (b) only if supervision is lodged in a body of control for the total area. If these protective devices are carefully and sincerely worked out, then the Dutch may be invaluable in aiding in the management of their former colonies, and the British in theirs.

If in this way there should be established a new colonial policy, the subsidiary questions of Formosa, Korea, and Manchuria could find an easier solution. The Japanese could be allowed to function in Formosa in the same way as the Dutch in Indonesia and the British in Malaya. The plight of the Koreans is indeed an unenviable one. In no sense is Korea able to maintain the status of absolute independence, limited as she is geographically and surrounded by powerful peoples. Yet her status as subject to Japan is intolerable. The trag-

edy is that although Korea needs Japan and Japan needs Korea, traditional colonial policy by its very nature creates only hostility between them. The welfare of Korea, too, depends upon collective security, and demands a new Pacific structure to which all peoples of the Pacific belong and which they are determined to maintain. In such a structure, Japan might be allowed to function in relation to Korea, too, as director of the colonial policy established by the total area. If, however, the Japanese should be too distasteful to the Koreans because of past experiences, it might be necessary to entrust the supervision of the peninsula to some other group. The Japanese, however, are the natural persons to do it. The greatest objection to the Japanese at this point is that they do not seem to know how to co-operate; they only know how to dominate. Yet the same criticism can be charged against other imperialist powers. And a new Pacific structure may induce the spirit of co-operation on a scale hitherto believed impossible.

The disposition of Manchuria might be determined in part by the wishes of the inhabitants; if they wished it to remain an independent nation and if the consortium of Pacific powers should conclude that a buffer state between Russia and China and Japan is desirable, Manchuria could be allowed to proceed on the road to statehood; it would be preferable to have it rest on the joint arms of the Pacific Powers than on those of Japan singly.

In handling of all these colonial problems, it needs to be emphasized that for the future development of the Pacific area what is important is not the extent to which immediate justice — if anyone could know what that entails — is achieved in reference to the multitude of various colonial problems; rather it is the Pacific structure. If a structure can be established which is both progressive enough to provide for continuous enlargement of life for all the peoples of the Pacific, one sufficiently well integrated and strong enough to maintain itself over a long period of years, then such rough justice as history allows may be realized. In times of peace shifts of power take place in imperceptible ways. And if imperial monopolies in the East are broken in favor of joint control, we may be sure that all peoples will be benefited. Just as the Open Door policy with regard to China was far more beneficent than any monopoly control could have been, a similar joint policy in regard to all Pacific colonies would best further the life of all the peoples concerned.

3. A third problem which demands for its solution a new Pacific structure is that of race. In the present war it is our great good fortune that Japan has split the races of Asia apart, that China is definitely our ally, and that India would like to be. We could not hope to defeat Japan if China were not on our side. If ever the peoples of Asia should unite against us in a race war they could drive us out of the Pacific. It is equally our good fortune that China cannot win her war against Japan without us. It is this link of need which provides us with the opportunity of establishing a Pacific order in which Orientals and Occidentals shall be so closely integrated that henceforth a race war shall be forever impossible. If the white peoples who border on the Pacific cannot now achieve such an order the opportunity may not soon come again. We ought not to be deceived: such an achievement would require of us sacrifices as great as those we shall ask of Japan, or of any other people in the area. Too long has the white man manipulated the East in such a way as to keep himself in the dominant power-position. A new order would provide for distribution of power, for its joint control, and for a democratic leadership. This would mean that, although the United Nations would necessarily hold a monopoly of force and would by force maintain the peace structure they establish, provision should be made for proportionate distribution of power, and for transient and representative leadership. The peace would then move, as we profess it is intended to do, in the direction of a true democratic order.

IV

Our conclusion is this: although our immediate aim is to defeat Japan in war, yet our war aims must reach beyond negation to reconstruction. We cannot find a solution to the problem of Japan or to any problem which the war sets before us, except within the framework of a new Pacific structure. And if we can establish a new structure the problem of Japan will fall to a subordinate position. Next in importance to that of winning the war, the most urgent task which lies before our leaders is to plan this Pacific structure.

In broad outlines the new order should exhibit the following characteristics: it shall be composed of responsible representatives of all governments and peoples bordering on the Pacific; provision shall be made wherever possible for democratic selection of leadership; the organization must from the beginning function as a super-gov-

ernment, having responsibility for the total defense of the entire area; it shall have authority to determine area economic policy as it relates to foreign trade, international exchange, currency values, capital investment, and exploitation and distribution of natural resources; it shall be responsible for the promotion of education, health, and general cultural advancement, overcoming as rapidly as possible the wide disparities in standards of living in the area; it shall supervise all colonial areas, requiring groups entrusted with the local govenment of backward areas, to report periodically to the full consortium of powers; while encouraging local culture patterns, it will insist that all international relationships be under the control of the consortium.

The achievement of such an order will indeed be difficult; yet, unless it can be done we shall have fought the war in vain.

A FOURTEENTH CENTURY SOCIAL GOSPEL

By DAVID STOWE

ONE of the great twentieth century delusions is the notion that the church did not really come to understand Christianity until our day. We have learned the central fact that our faith is a commandment for relations between men, nations and classes here and now. But we doubt if any earlier generation of Christians has quite known this. By our patronizing doubtfulness we cut ourselves off from the historic communion of saints. Many of the treasures of our faith go unnoticed by us, and we are the poorer for it.

One of the greatest of these treasures lies buried in the fourteenth century. It is a document burning with social passion, yet rooted in the profoundest religious motives of our faith. The name of this manifesto of the poor man's Christ is "Piers Plowman."

"Piers Plowman" is one of the first great pieces of literature written in English. Coming as it does from Chaucer's time, it bears in its alliterative lines the surge and ring of the ancient Saxon epics which were its models. The poem is genuine folk literature, expressing the deep-going aspiration and faith of the common man in an age when the common man was only beginning to find his voice.

I

But why should a long, homely, allegorical medieval poem be significant for Christians today? One reason is that it came out of a time much like our own. The fourteenth century was one of the great epochs of restlessness, turmoil and striving. Christopher Dawson has characterized it —

> An age of profound social and spiritual change: an age of ruin and rebirth, of apocalyptic fears and mystical hopes. . . . It saw the breakdown of the universal theocratic order of mediaeval Christendom and the rise of political nationalism and religious division, and at the same time it witnessed the passing of the old agrarian feudal society and the rise of capitalism and urban industrialism. Western Europe was stirred from end to end by a wave of social unrest which showed itself in revolutionary movements and bitter class warfare. At no other

time in European history has the common people asserted itself more vigorously or found more remarkable leaders.[1]

Piers is the voice of this common people, sometimes harsh and pitiful and comic, but always authentic.

A second reason for the poem's power lies — if tradition can be trusted — [2] in the character of its author. "Piers Plowman" is ascribed to William Langland, who is supposed to have been born about 1333 in the Malvern Hills of England's West country. He seems to have lived in London, in the poor section called Cornhill. He was a member of what has been called "that proletariat of clerks in minor orders," men who earned a bare living by singing the office in the chantries and saying prayers for the souls of their well-to-do patrons.[3]

Langland pictures himself as a long, lean, eccentric figure, wandering about London's streets and regarded as no better than a fool. In bitterness of spirit, failure and suffering he lived, feeling the emptiness of his useless life. And yet he was continually driven by a hope:

> And yet I hope that even as one
> who oft hath bought and sold
> And always lost and lost
> and at the last hath happened
> To buy him such a bargain
> that he is better for ever
> And all his loss is at the last
> only as a leaf, . . .
> Even so hope I to have
> of Him that is Almighty
> A gobbet of His grace;
> and then begin a time
> That shall turn to profit
> all the days of my life.[4]

Here, in the poet's own experience, strangely akin to that of the other great medieval singer, François Villon, lies part of the secret of the moving power of "Piers Plowman."

II

Now to the poem itself. Like many another great religious masterpiece, "Piers Plowman" is a tale told in the guise of a dream. Its opening lines relate how the writer, on a May morning in the Malvern Hills, lay down beside a merry-sounding burn, and slumbered, and dreamed . . . marvellously:

[1] Christopher Dawson, *Medieval Religion*, p. 158 f.

[2] The poem and its author have been as roughly treated by the critics as the Book of Isaiah. For a convenient summary of the various views about the text and its source(s) see the Introduction to the convenient Everyman's edition, by Arthur Burrell (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1912). Citations are from this edition.

[3] Dawson, *Medieval Religion*, 165.

[4] "The Writer's Life," *Piers Plowman*, p. 66.

All the world's weal, all the world's woe,
Truth and trickery, treason and guile,
All I saw, sleeping.

He saw a fair field full of folk — a vision of the world. What a picture he paints of this wonderful panorama:

Rich and poor, all manner of men
Working and wandering as in the world we must.

Some were for ploughing, and played full seldom,
Set their seed and sowed their seed, and sweated hard,
To win what wastrels with gluttony destroy.

Some were for prayers and penance, ay, many a one,
Living strait lives for love of our Lord
In hope of heavenly bliss. . . .

Some chose merchandise; they throve the best . . .
There were tramps and beggars fast about flitting,
Crammed with bread in wallet and belly
Lying for their food, and fighting in the taverns,
Going to bed in gluttony, rising from bed in ribaldry,
Gangs of mean thieves. . . .

Pilgrims and palmers plighted together, . . .
They went upon their way with many a wise tale . . . .

Hermits, a heap of them, with hooked staves,
Were walking to Walsingham. . . .

Friars? All the four orders, I found them there,
Preaching to the people . . . .

There wandered a hundred, in hoods of silk,
Serjeants they seemed, and served at the Bar. . . .

Yet I dreamed more, of mean men and of rich,
Barons and burgesses, bondmen of villages;
I saw in this assembly, as ye shall hear after,
Many a butcher, baker, brewer tailors and tinkers,
Woolweavers, linenweavers, toll-takers in the markets,
Masons and miners and many another craft,
Ditchers and delvers, that do their work ill,
And spend the livelong day in song, "God save you, Lady Em."
Cooks and their men were crying, "Pies hot, all hot,
"Good pork, good goose; Come, come and dine."
Taverners told the same tale, "A drink of wine for nothing,
"White wine, red wine, to wash the roast meat down."

All this I saw sleeping, nay, seven times more.[5]

[5] "The Vision of the Field Full of Folk," *Piers Plowman*, pp. 3–11.

This great picture serves as a prologue for all that follows. It is in this marvellously varicolored world of diverse classes and groups of men that the poet begins to trace out the lines of his social criticism and his religious social aspiration. And in the penetration and insight which the prologue reveals we find assurance that this man is going to penetrate to the very sources of his society's trouble and lay them bare.

III

First of all he finds that his society is not really interested in the truth by which alone its salvation can come. Many give lip service to the quest for right principles for the common life. But when it comes to setting out on the search they fall away. Other things come first. Langland paints a picture of a party which has been asking for someone to guide it to Truth. Peter the Plowman, Piers Plowman in the medieval English, offers to help. But then come the excuses:

"I have bought a house," quoth one,
"To see how it pleaseth me."
Another needs must follow
"And I must go at once
"Therefore, I pray you, Piers,
"Tell Truth I am excused."

"and I must hie me thither,
He took his leave of Piers.
five yoke of oxen,
and drive them straight;
if perchance ye meet him

"And I have wedded a wife," says one,
"Were I a sevennight from her sight
"And lour on me and lightly chide
"Therefore, Piers Plowman,
"I cannot come for Kits sake,

"wanton in her ways,
she would fall into sin,
and say I love another;
I pray thee tell Truth
she cleaveth so to me."

Quoth Contemplation,
"Famine and trouble,
"But the way is so bad
"To follow us each foot

"Though I suffer woe,
I will follow Piers,
unless we had a guide
for dread of misturnings."

"By S. Paul," says a Pardoner,
"I will go fetch my box of writing

"perchance I am not known there;
and my bishops letters."

"By Christ," says a woman of the streets,
"Thou shalt say I am sister of thine
(*She looks around and sees they two are alone*)

"I will come in thy company;

"I know not where they be gone." [6]

Symbolically enough, only the one who has fallen to the very bottom of society really feels her need of truth and is willing to sacrifice

[6] "The Vision of the Search for Truth," *Piers Plowman*, p. 101.

that it may be achieved. One is reminded of the saying of Jesus that publicans and sinners may be nearer to the kingdom of God than the righteous men of his day.

IV

Langland sees through the pretensions of the religious men, the many orders of the church. Lowest in the hierarchy are the ostensibly holy laymen, the pilgrims and the palmers, who have dedicated their lives to traveling about the world, visiting the shrines of the saints. He describes them cuttingly:

Pilgrims and palmers
To seek S. James in Spain,
They went upon their way
And had leave to lie
plighted together,
and S. Peter in Rome;
with many a wise tale,
all their life after.

And then there were the hermits, who supposedly had renounced the company of their kind and retired to the wilderness for prayer and holy thoughts. They lived off the bounty of the faithful, who admired their good works. But Langland sees no good works here:

Hermits, a heap of them . . .
each had his wench with him —
Great long lubbers,
Clad in copes
To pass for hermits,
that loth were to work,
to be known for hermits,
and have an easy life.

Higher up were the great religious brotherhoods, Franciscans, Carthusians, and the rest. They moved all about England, preaching, supposedly upholding apostolic poverty and pure religion. But they too were lacking:

Friars? All the four orders
Preaching to the people,
For their own profit.
I found them there,
and glosing the gospel

Many of these masters
Money and their preaching
God's love has turned trader,
may dress as they will,
soon meet one another.
and the rich pay high. . . .

No better were the parish priests, and the other secular clergy, who should have tended their flocks, but instead escaped their responsibilities through absenteeism:

Bishops and deacons,
With cures under Christ
Who ought to shrive their people
They lie in London,
masters and doctors,
and tonsured to show it,
and pray and feed their flocks,
in lent, ay, all the year.

Worst of all is the Pardoner, the priest with his sale of forgiveness of sins for money:

Look there, a Pardoner,
A papal bull he bought,
He can assoil them all,
preaching like a priest,
sealed by the bishop,
of fasting, falsehood, and of broken vows.

The simple fools believed him
Came and knelt
He bunched his "letters" in their faces
And his parchment roll robbed them
loved his words,
and kissed his bull,
and blinded their eyes,
of rings and brooches. . . .

If the bishop were holy
He would not send his seal
But against the bishop
For the parson and the Pardoner
Which the parish poor would get
and worth his ears,
to deceive the people,
your Pardoner preaches not,
share the sermon-silver,
if the Pardoner were away.[7]

Langland, clearly, is no blind believer in the church. He is a clear-sighted and trenchant critic of his own institution.

V

But he sees in the world outside the church the same abuses, perhaps worse ones. He sees the strong, wicked man, the noble who, because he has power, works his will upon the weak. This man he symbolizes with the title, Wrong. One is bringing a bill of accusation against Wrong in Parliament — and there is poignancy in the quiet despair which attends the recital of his injuries:

Wrong has taken my wife
My geese and pigs
I dare not for dread of him
Borrowed my horse of me
And never a farthing,
He watcheth me well
Which way I go
He maintaineth his men
He forestalleth my goods
He breaketh up my barn door
Me and mine he threateneth,
Nor am I strong enough
against my will, . . .
his fellows fetch,
fight nor chide;
brought him home never,
for all I cared plead . . .
when I take silver with me,
to rifle and rob me;
to murder my labourers,
and fighteth when I sell;
and carrieth off my wheat, . . .
lieth with my maid,
even to look on him.[8]

But for all his pleading the wronged one gets no redress. For the men skilled at the law had no time for a poor man. The lawyers, who

[7] "Vision of the Field Full of Folk," *Piers Plowman*, pp. 4 ff.
[8] "The Vision of Reason," *Piers Plowman*, pp. 54 ff.

should have served justice, served only themselves. Langland describes them:

There wandered a hundred in hoods of silk,
Serjeants they seemed, and served at the Bar,
Pleading the Law, for pennies and for pounds,
Unlocking their lips never for love of our Lord.
Thou mightest better mete the mist on Malvern hills
Than get a mutter from their mouths — save thou show thy money.[9]

The plain fact is, Langland says, that money has corrupted all of society. Forgotten was the older order of chivalry, the strong helping the weak, the gracious service of one class to another. Langland has a symbolic title for this all-compelling economic drive. It is Lady Meed, Lady Money. She is the darkest villain of the whole piece:

She maketh men sin many score times,
Trust in her treasure betrayeth full many . . .
Monks and minstrels, lepers in hedges,
Gentle and simple, are her lovers when they will;
Jurymen and summoners are the men that praise her,
Sheriffs in shires were lost if MEED were gone;
She taketh mens life and land setteth laws prisoners free . . .
For excommunication she careth not a rush, . . .
When she will she is assoiled of sin and in one month can do
What the kings secret seal can do in three. . .
Woe to the realm when MEED is well with the king.[10]

Against this picture of power and wealth working together, Langland paints the plight of the poor cottager

. . . with many children and nought but a man's hands
To clothe and feed them and few pennies come in,
And many mouths to eat the pennies up.

He is sure that the poor are nearer to God:

The learned talk of God, and his name is on their lips,
But the poor have him in their heart.

There are:

None sooner saved, none surer in creed,
Than plowmen, shepherds, and poor common people.
Cobblers and labourers, land-tilling folks,
Pierce with a prayer the palace of heaven.[11]

[9] "Vision of the Field Full of Folk," *Piers Plowman*, p. 10.
[10] "Vision of Lady Meed," *Piers Plowman*, pp. 41 f.
[11] "Vision of God's Bull of Pardon," *Piers Plowman*, 125 "Vision of Do-Well," *Piers Plowman*, 137, 139.

VI

Langland is not simply a revolutionary, however, though he is fierce against the abuse of power and the corruption in high circles. He is equally against the exorbitant demands of the working classes. He satirizes their wishes:

Labourers with no land — but only their hands work
Deigned not to dine — on day-old vegetables;
No penny a gallon did for them — nor a piece of bacon,
But pork, fish, or fresh flesh — fried or baked,
And that *chaud, plus chaud* — for the chill of their maw.[12]

He is especially critical of the small tradesman with his high prices.

They grow rich on their retail — with what the poor should eat,
They buy houses, — they become landlords,
If they sold honestly — they would not build so high.[13]

Langland would conserve the class structure of birth and merit. He fumes of the evils that have come

Since bondmens sons — are made into bishops,
And bastard bairns — are made archdeacons,
And soap-makers and their sons — are knights for silvers sake.[14]

Some of the most burning language in the book is against the idle laborer. Piers warns the lazy harvest hands

Now by the prince of Paradise . . .
If ye rise not straightway — and haste you to work,
No grain that groweth here — shall gladden you at need,
Nay, though ye die for dole — devil take him that cares.[15]

And so we have a singularly balanced social criticism in Piers Plowman. There is sympathy for right, in every class, and hatred of wrong wherever it is found. This means that there can be no simple remedy for society's ills. Where does Langland turn for his solution?

VII

His constructive vision is bound up with the figure of the plowman. Who is Peter the Plowman, Piers Plowman? He is a mystic figure, a blend of many meanings. He is first of all just an honest workman, the common people of England. He testifies of himself

[12] "Vision of Piers Council," *Piers Plowman*, p. 117.
[13] "Vision of Lady Meed," *Piers Plowman*, p. 40.
[14] "The Writer's Life," *Piers Plowman*, p. 65.
[15] "Vision of Piers Counsel," *Piers Plowman*, p. 109.

I know Truth as well as scholar does his book.
Conscience and my own wit led me to his place,
Made me his man to serve him evermore;
I have been his follower all this fifty winter.[16]

There is a noble kind of generosity in the plowman, like that of God who sends his rain on the just and the unjust.

. . . God bless Piers Plowman who tilleth for all,
As well for wastrels and wenches in the brothel
As for his servants and himself although he serves himself first.[17]

This kind of commoner shall be supreme one day, Langland sees in a flash of democratic vision:

. . . Piers with his new plough and eke with his old
Should be Emperor of all the world and make it all Christian.[18]

The common people, represented by Piers, know that the heart of religion is love and concern for the other.

Therefore I counsel you, ye rich, have pity on the poor,
Though ye be mighty at the law be ye meek in your deeds. . . .
Though thou be true tongued, though thou trade honestly, . . .
Save thou love loyally, and lend to the poor,
And share with him in godly wise Gods gifts to *thee*,
Your Masses and your Hours bring you no more merit
Than slut Malkyns maiden-head that none desireth. . . .
Chastity without charity lies chained in hell,
It is but as an unlighted lamp. . . .

This is the key of love, it openeth Gods grace, . . .
Love is the leech of life, next to our Lord,
It is the graft of grace, it is the nearest road to heaven.[19]

But such love and good works do not come simply for the wishing. They must have a basis and a reason. And here we plunge into the heart of Langland's thought. For Piers is more than simple plowman, the common people. He is Peter, Saint Peter, and Peter's Church; the true church of the righteous, simple believer.

But again the colors shift and blend, and Piers stands forth as one with the mystical spirit of Christ, working in the hearts and lives of humanity everywhere. This is not a simple idea, but it is a profound

[16] "Vision of the Search for Truth," *Piers Plowman*, p. 98.
[17] "Vision of Do-Best," *Piers Plowman*, p. 169.
[18] *Ibid.*, 168.
[19] "Vision of Holy Church," *Piers Plowman*, p. 20 f.

one. As Turgeniev dreamed that he saw the face of Christ, and it was "a face like all men's faces,"[20] so Langland dreams

That PIERS THE PLOWMAN
And came in with a cross
Like in all his limbs
And then I called Conscience
"Is this Jesus the Jouster
"Or is it PIERS PLOWMAN;
And Conscience kneeled,
"His colours, his coat-armor,
"It is Christ with His Cross
was painted all bloody
before the common people,
to our Lord Jesu,
to tell me the truth;
that the Jews did to death,
who painted him so red?"
"These be Piers arms,
but He that cometh so bloody
conqueror of Christendom." [21]

Here then is the true basis for brotherhood — brotherhood in the fellowship of Christ's body, membership in the common humanity to which Christ belonged and belongs, and for which he died.

For all we are Christ's creatures
And brethren of one blood,
For on Calvary of Christ's blood
And blood brethren we became there
and of his coffers rich,
as well beggars as earls,
Christendom 'gan spring,
of one body won.[22]

Into the mouth of Christ himself Langland puts words that glow with passion for this body of humanity, passion that alone makes unity possible:

I, that am lord of life,
And, for that drink to-day, I died
I will drink of no ditch,
But from the Common Cups
No nectar and no cyder
Shall moisten me,
Until the vintage fall
And I drink ripe wine,
Then shall I as king
And have out of Hell
love is my drink,
of no deep knowledge,
— all Christian souls — . . .
and no costly drink
or slake my thirst,
in the valley of Joshaphat,
the resurrection of the dead.
come with angels and with crowns,
all mens souls.[23]

[20] Introduction to *Piers Plowman*, p. xix.
[21] "Vision of Do-Best," *Piers Plowman*, p. 167.
[22] Dawson's translation, p. 184.
[23] "Harrowing of Hell," *Piers Plowman*, p. 164.

CONTEMPORARY BOOKS

GOD MEETS MAN

THE DIVINE-HUMAN ENCOUNTER, *by* EMIL BRUNNER. *The Westminster Press, $2.50.*

BRUNNER is here fighting certain evils that arise repeatedly in the thought and practice of historic Christianity. They are evils because they kill the living encounter between God and man. Orthodoxy, including neo-orthodoxy (p. 38), is one of them and he fights it with all his power. A second evil is the attributing of divine potency to the institution, rites and ceremonies of the church. These both come under the head of what he calls the evil of objectivism. Opposite to this is the evil of subjectivism. It is the thought and practice which cast off the authority of Bible, church, doctrine, sacrament and ceremony because "the Spirit bloweth where it listeth." Subjectivism seeks freedom, spontaneity, magnifies "inner experience" and often talks more of religion and experience than it does of God. It assumes many forms and may be found variously mixed with other characteristics in Schleiermacher, the pietists, mystics, various sects, and "the Chicago School" (p. 36).

These two evils, objectivism and subjectivism, evoke one another as counter-correctives. But one is just as bad as the other. Furthermore, the cure is no middle ground between the two but something different from both. The constructive part of the book is given to setting forth this way of deliverance from the two evils.

The living encounter between God and man cannot be accomplished by any doctrine or belief, says Brunner. Neither can it be accomplished by any ceremony or sacrament nor by anything whatsoever which men may do in the church, with the church or through the church. Least of all can it be done by man when he breaks away from the church and casts off the authority of the Bible and the historic event of Christ. God alone initiates this encounter. Man's part is to respond to this doing of God by faith. Brunner has important things to say about the nature of this faith.

The doctrines and the beliefs, the sacraments and the preaching, are very useful instruments in service of this encounter. But they are servants and instruments only. They have no power to control or initiate this meeting between God and man which is the all-important event in the life of the individual, in history and in creation. When man tries to control or initiate the meeting by any experience of his own (subjectivism), or when he thinks it is controlled or initiated by any doctrine or belief or practice or office of the church (objectivism), he blocks it.

The present reviewer warms to Brunner's fight. He would identify himself utterly with Brunner's endeavor and goal. (I am quite sure Brunner would not accept me as a co-worker.) All-important indeed is this encounter when God meets man and man responds by faith to God. All else that is Christianity and all else called religion is either worthless or positively evil except as it is instrumental and subordinate to this.

My criticism is not that Brunner himself fails to escape these twin evils of objectivism and subjectivism. We all fail. We all are caught recurrently in one or the other of them. My criticism is rather that Brunner follows a trail, in his attempt to escape them, which will almost surely lead back into them again. Unwittingly he demonstrates this treachery of his procedure by showing how this trail as followed by the Reformers did lead back almost immediately into very evil forms of objectivism and subjectivism.

This alleged way of escape from objectivism and subjectivism he calls "the dialectical principle of the Reformation." Very tersely and very clearly he describes it on page twenty-nine. He says; "Its form of expression was never the use of one concept, but always two logically contradictory ones." I submit that when one tries to find his way out of any difficulty by the use of logically contradictory concepts he will almost surely get lost. Only rare good fortune can save him. Logical consistency is not the only requirement, even as a compass will not enable us to reach port if we have nothing but a compass and no boat. But when we cast off logical consistency in our thinking, or ignore the compass in our boating, we are very likely to double back and wander aimlessly. The divine encounter may still occur even when one "thinks" dialectically, using logically contradictory concepts, but that is only because human folly is not insuperable to the love of God. So far as we do anything at all about it with our minds, we are doing the poorest and weakest that is possible when we never use "one concept but always two logically contradictory ones." Brunner seems to say that this "dialectical principle of the Reformation" is the supreme achievement of Christian theology since Paul. In reply I can only say: Brother Brunner, your heart is right but your head is woefully wrong.

Despite this criticism the book is very rewarding and I read it with great interest. Much else of its content I should like to discuss but am not permitted the space. Brunner's treatment of faith and of "the Biblical understanding of truth" is rich and important. His exposition is confused and in many instances, I think, is false because he "never uses one concept but always two contradictory ones." But he has hold on a reality that is profound and regnant in human living. Supreme over all is the cause for which he fights. Grievous it is that he has such a poor and treacherous weapon for the fighting.

HENRY NELSON WIEMAN

THE REAL PURPOSE AND MESSAGE OF JESUS

THE HISTORIC MISSION OF JESUS: A CONSTRUCTIVE RE-EXAMINATION OF THE ESCHATOLOGICAL TEACHING OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS, *by* C. J. CADOUX. *Harper & Brothers, $3.00.*

DR. C. J. CADOUX, vice-principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, one of the leading Congregational scholars of Great Britain, published in England two years ago a detailed and inclusive study of the Gospel materials bearing on the purpose of Jesus and the content of his message, with especial reference to the much-debated question of eschatology. It is a contribution of such importance to New Testament studies that Harper & Brothers have republished it in the United States.

The volume is an excellent example of the "both-and" in contrast to the "either-or" type of thinking. The skepticism as to the modern relevance of Jesus' teaching shown in Schweitzer's *Quest of the Historical Jesus*, with its theory of interim ethics, and Cadbury's *Peril of Modernizing Jesus*, on the one hand, and, on the other, the modernizing and spiritualizing tendency of C. H. Dodd, are points of view with which he most often disagrees. The clarity of Dr. Cadoux's ideas is obscured neither by Barthian antitheses nor neo-orthodox double talk. Though he is familiar with both dialectical theology and form criticism, he is, in fact, a thoroughgoing and unrepentant liberal who sees little good in either. Nevertheless, he has learned from the mistakes of liberalism and seeks to avoid them. He is especially chary of the dogmatism which knows all of the answers.

The book is not easy summer reading. It undertakes to discuss all of the passages bearing on all of the problems relevant to its theme, and while it does not presume to cite all authorities, it does present a representative selection of views often with extensive quotations, on both sides, or all sides, of the mooted questions. It is, therefore, an invaluable book for the student, even though he may not subscribe to all of the author's conclusions. A detailed table of contents and an extensive system of summaries render it easy to follow the progress of the author's thought through all of its wide and sometimes otherwise confusing ramifications.

The Gospel materials are critically, but not skeptically, handled. Distinction is constantly made between the documents in accordance with Streeter's four-document theory, a helpful segregation of the materials, even if one does not accept that theory. Mark and Q are given greatest weight. Luke is preferred to Matthew on many points, and even Luke's account of the "rejection at Nazareth" is taken as historical. It is suggested that John may be correct as to chronology and as to the frequent visits of Jesus to Jerusalem. Otherwise the Fourth Gospel is not used.

According to Dr. Cadoux, Jesus regarded himself as the Jewish Messiah, and believed his mission pertained first to the Jewish people and demanded

both a political and a social revolution. He also applied the term "Son of man," in the Danielic, not the Enochic, sense, both to himself and to his people; but used also the "servant" hymns of Deutero-Isaiah. His people and he as their head were to be a light to the nations. The conceptions of a militant Messiah and a Messianic war were, therefore, eliminated. A mission to the Gentiles must wait upon a due preparation of Israel.

At first Jesus expected his people to heed his message and accept his leadership. When this hope was disappointed and his death appeared inevitable, he accepted his fate as a means of producing the repentance necessary to prepare for the coming of the Kingdom. He expected, after a lapse of time, to return in glory to inaugurate the final climactic coming of the Kingdom already present. This brief summary, of course, notes few points of controversy and gives but a glimpse of the wealth of instructive materials contained in the volume.

C. C. McCown

THE FREEDOM OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSION

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION, *by* EDMUND D. SOPER. *Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, $2.50.*

IN THIS review we shall examine Professor Soper's philosophy of missions in one aspect only — in its bearing on the problem of freedom of religious propaganda in the modern world. Christianity has always regarded itself as having universal validity for all mankind and therefore rightfully having a world mission. Today it finds fresh challenge from three sources, (1) the world of the non-Christian religions, (2) the rise of totalitarian nationalism, and (3) renewed emphasis on indigenous cultures in many lands. How shall relation to all of these be conceived?

Like Hendrik Kraemer and W. E. Hocking, Dr. Soper sees that "the very center of the philosophy of Christian missions must be concerned primarily with the relation of Christianity to the other religions with which it comes in contact" (p. 149). "We are saved by our attitude toward the best we know which to us is embodied in Jesus Christ" (p. 144). This treasure we would share with all the world; but we must reckon with the fact that non-Christian peoples live by other conceptions of the best and hold to other centers of loyalty. How shall Christians regard their position in relation to non-Christian faiths?

Soper sets aside Kraemer's principle of "discontinuity" of Christianity with all other religions. Kraemer's mode of conceiving the uniqueness of Christianity, he thinks, is unfortunate in that it tends to build an intolerant attitude, lacking sense of appreciation of "what is noble and unselfish in men and women who, with their light, are striving to live uprightly" (p. 229).

Equally set aside is Hocking's strong feeling for the complete continuity of Christianity with all genuine religious striving everywhere. This leads to friendliness for all who are devoted to the progressively-sought "essence of all religion," but tends to surrender the Christian faith that, in its founder, the supreme excellence is already present. One position represents "uniqueness without continuity;" the other "continuity with doubtful uniqueness."

In Soper's thought neither emphasis should be surrendered. His formula is "uniqueness with continuity." That is, Christianity is unique in the revelation of God's love in Jesus Christ; but it is also continuous with other religions in recognition of whatever goodness, beauty and truth stand revealed in them. Practically, therefore, the Christian, while recognizing God's initiative behind *all* religious revelations of value, will never hesitate to point to his revelation in Christ as possessing the content supremely worthful. He can always say "God is like Jesus Christ," (p. 228). It may be commented here that Christians can recognize the profound meaning of this but that, in actual non-Christian environments, pointing to Jesus Christ involves far more than verbal utterance — as Soper himself recognizes in his discussion elsewhere of means and methods of making known "the gospel of God's love to men in Jesus Christ."

What of "proselytizing" from other religious communities into the organized Christian church? Have we this freedom? Soper is well aware of resistance at this point from modern Hinduism, Mohammedanism and Judaism. He also appreciates the "permeative" influence of Christianity beyond the bounds of church groups. Yet he wisely recognizes that "there must be a Christian nucleus, a growing band of Christian disciples fully committed to Jesus Christ and emulating his example if the fruits of Christianity are to ripen and be effective among the people of any land" (p. 241). This still remains the primary essential, though the permeative spread of Christian values so far as it can reach is important, and there is a sense in which it is possible "to recognize the essential brotherhood of all believers whenever and wherever they are found" (p. 105f.). There is no doubt that Soper is here true to the inner logic of faith in the Christian community, though strategy in lands abroad may still question whether call to church membership is a first or a final step in the process of its influence. In unripe psychological situations freedom of propaganda can become mere coercion by social pressure and have results far different from the basic change in "center of loyalty" intended.

The challenge of totalitarian nationalism is a simpler if a more severe problem. Soper recognizes that here the Christian mission finds itself unavoidably in opposition. In the first place Christianity, with its conviction of the worth of human personality, has naturally fostered the democratic

state, as even Friedrich Nietzsche recognized. Its spirit is individual-universalistic; therefore it cannot bow before the racial-national principle, whether in Germany, Italy or Japan. In the second place, the Christian mission cannot function in its true sense without freedom of conscience, belief and worship. In Asia the problem is most severe in Japan and Korea where a minority Christian group necessarily breathes the atmosphere of a totalitarian nationalism centered in a traditional religion of race and state. Here, as in Germany, " 'blood', 'race' and 'nation' are words to conjure with, rather than 'community' and 'fellowship' in Christ" (p. 254). Under such circumstances how far can compliance with state loyalty go without losing the universalism intrinsic to the Christian religion? Soper is not too optimistic, but counsels patience and understanding for those Christians now bearing the burden of spiritual opposition. The crisis is deep and serious and the clear solution is not yet evident.

The last challenge is not so difficult to meet. Pride in indigenous cultures does indeed cause resistance to the advance of the Christian mission. But that is because Christianity is viewed as a subsidiary function of Western culture. The Christian mission really faces new opportunity if it can frankly recognize that it is inwardly independent of every specific culture, but can work as a transforming leaven within them all. With Hugh Vernon White, Soper recognizes that "Christianity has never been fully at home in any human society" (p. 265). Yet paradoxically this enables it to clothe itself with the ways of all and utilize these toward its own goals. We may expect this form of resistance to subside gradually as Oriental Christians assimilate the truly worthful elements of their respective environments to the expression of Christian values. How this will come about Western Christians cannot determine in advance. We are too deeply steeped in the characteristics of our own culture. Yet in the end, as Soper really says, "Christians in each country — not the missionary from the outside — must determine for themselves the forms which their religious life must take" (p. 268). Nevertheless we may expect that "the same religion will be found in every land, but with differences which make it a joy to have fellowship with men and women who gladly give their heart's devotion to a common Lord and yet show diverse ways in which that devotion and loyalty are expressed" (p. 268). In other words the last freedom of the world Christian community is the freedom of receiving enrichment from all the cultures through which it ultimately finds expression.

Professor Soper's book sets the problem of Christian freedom in a wide and noble perspective. In a chaotic time the continuing Christian mission shares and suffers all the problems of mankind, but its life goes forward and Soper has indicated good grounds for hope of its greater future.

CLARENCE H. HAMILTON

CHINESE CULTURE IN ITS RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

China's Religious Heritage *by* Y. C. Yang. *Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, $1.50.*

THERE was a time when China seemed very far away and quite remote from the interests of people in the Western world, unless they were concerned about the work of foreign missions, or else were of the few who had some sort of commercial relations with Chinese people. That time has gone forever. Whether we like it or not, China has become a matter of first page interest to the whole world and particularly to the peoples of the United Nations whose ally she is in the World War which has engulfed us. Probably much more than Western nations would like to think, their destiny is bound up in a common bundle with that most numerous of all peoples, the Chinese. There is, therefore, no escape from the necessity or desirability of understanding China, and that means definitely understanding something of her religious heritage. As an aid to an understanding of this aspect of China's culture, this book makes a great contribution.

First of all, it is written by an eminent Chinese educational leader, the president of Soochow University, who has been lecturing latterly on Chinese civilization in Bowdoin College, Maine. We have had too few Chinese writers on the subject of Chinese religion. Most of the scholarly books in that field have been written by Western scholars. It is true that we have had some excellent books on Chinese philosophy which have perforce dealt with the teachings of Confucius and Laotze and other great religious thinkers of China, written by Chinese scholars, but nothing quite like the book under review has previously come from a Chinese pen. Dr. Yang does not pretend to treat his subject as a scholar, nor is he interested in the technical problems of scholarship involved in such a study. He claims to be only a "plain man," who hopes his book may make "some small contribution" and be interesting "because he is an ordinary layman and because being a Chinese he had easier access to original Chinese sources of information and was able to catch the spirit and the atmosphere and sense the situation in a way not possible to Western writers." That he has succeeded in his hope will be borne out by a reading of the book. It is interesting. It is not technical. It is rich in insights into the heart of China's faiths. Even technical scholars will prize it because it is an authentic reaction of an intelligent Chinese who has sympathetically sought to understand his own religious heritage.

The fact that the writer is an avowed Christian and that he makes no pretense of approaching his subject with scholarly detachment may cause some professional scholars to discount his work; and they would be definitely right in so doing, if he sought to give the impression that he was writing as a disinterested scholar. But such a straightforward honest appraisal of Chinese religions by one who so specifically sets forth his own point of view can only

be heartily welcomed. It will of course have to stand whatever critical tests may legitimately be applied to it by those whose good fortune it is to be able to go back to the original sources in Chinese literature and life.

Probably the book's greatest value lies in the fact that it is written by a Christian; certainly this is true from the standpoint of the student of Christian missions. Here is the way a Chinese Christian looks at Chinese religions, and the future of the relationships of Christianity with those religions will rest ultimately not in the hands of missionaries from the outside, but with the Chinese who are attracted to Christianity. Also one catches some clue to the reaction of the Chinese mind to Christianity.

The directors of the Quillian Foundation at Emory University performed a distinct service to international understanding and to the cause of missions in China and indeed in the rest of the world when they invited Dr. Yang to give the lectures which make up the content of this book. It is to be hoped that other lectureships will invite eminent leaders from other parts of the world to interpret in similar fashion the best of the cultures which they represent.

A brief indication of the content of the volume will reveal the approach the author makes to his subject. The titles of the five chapters are: The religious significance of Chinese culture; Confucianism: the art of living; Buddhism: the path of escape; Taoism: the law of nature; and Christianity: the way of life. It is a "must" book for those who would understand our friends the Chinese. It is scarcely conceivable that one who reads it faithfully could refuse to support the long overdue attempts this year to wipe from our statute books the act which excludes Chinese people from entrance into or from the right to become citizens of our country, and to grant them the same privileges accorded Europeans under the quota system of immigration control.

CHARLES S. BRADEN

THE UNITY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN FAITH

ONE LORD — ONE FAITH, *by* FLOYD V. FILSON. *The Westminster Press, $2.00.*

CONVENTIONAL treatises on New Testament theology divide the subject into the appropriate sections dealing with the teaching of Jesus, the earliest Church, Paul, John, etc., and emphasize the special features of each part. Dr. Filson, on the other hand, emphasizes what is common to the various parts, not obscuring their differences but seeking the threads of continuity that run through them all; he holds, as he says in his preface, that "the differences have often been exaggerated and the deeper unity inadequately stressed. . . . The Primitive Church, through all its development, and in spite of weaknesses and failures, *kept the faith.*" And his conclusion

(p. 223) sums up, "The Primitive Church caught the spirit of Jesus, not easily, not perfectly, but in its essentials."

The validity of such an argument depends largely on its critical premises, but Dr. Filson knows the field thoroughly; although he writes for general readers and not for specialists he states the reasons for his assumption with adequate fullness. The Pauline character of Ephesians he is content to hold only as the "more probable view." Of John he says, "On any view of authorship, the concern of the Church to protect its historical basis in the life of Jesus is manifest." As regards Jesus' Messianic consciousness he takes the sensible position that "we ought to have strong evidence before we conclude that " the Church "completely and with no record of dispute changed the message of Jesus so as to make central in its message what formed no part at all of his thinking" — and the evidence urged by the opponents of this consciousness, from Wrede on, is anything but "strong."

One other example will suffice to show the admirable sanity of Dr. Filson's treatment. On the eschatological problem he writes: "Jesus was not interested in accuracy and specific description of method. He used strongly pictorial language about the future to present great spiritual convictions about the uncharted future." Nor is this element to be disregarded today: "A definite eschatology, even if it must be expressed in symbolical language, is indispensable for a deep faith in God's working at the present time."

Both bibliography and index are very adequate.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON

ORGANS OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD

THE PRIMACY OF FAITH, *by* RICHARD KRONER. *The Gifford Lectures for 1939–1940. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

HOW DO WE KNOW GOD? AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION, *by* RICHARD KRONER. *Harper & Brothers, $1.75.*

THESE two books are parts of a trilogy of which the third, the Bedell Lectures, deals with the Religious Function of Imagination.

In his Gifford Lectures on *The Primacy of Faith*, Professor Kroner gives a fresh discussion of the much debated question of the relation of Faith to Reason. Among modern philosophers he believes that Kant has come closest to the truth because in his discussion of the Practical Reason he insists upon the primacy of Faith.

The two points most emphasized by Dr. Kroner in these lectures are the contribution of imagination to our knowledge of God, and the contribution of sin to our self-consciousness as creative personalities.

The significance of imagination as an organ of knowledge, and in particular its contribution to our knowledge of God, is discussed in the seventh chapter, "The Idea of God and the Religious Imagination;" but it sets the

tone for the treatment of the whole book. The position taken is that imagination (by which the author means the picture language of miracle and myth) gives us real knowledge of God, although not the kind which is reached by the researches of science (with its mathematically exact tests) or even by the purely rational methods of speculative philosophy. The knowledge of God which we reach by the use of the imagination is not *objective* in the sense in which the knowledge reached by the exact sciences is objective. "God cannot be an object; any more than the human self (in so far as it is a self) can be an object" (p. 199). But our knowledge of God is knowledge none the less since God, transcendent though he be, is the most real of all realities.

The distinction thus made between purely technical knowledge which lies in the realm of the intellect alone and the intuition of the artist and the poet into the making of which all sides of man's nature enter and which constitutes what Kroner means by the creative imagination, is a valid distinction; and Dr. Kroner has rendered a real service in pointing out that each kind of knowledge is valid in its own place. It may be questioned, however, whether his refusal to call knowledge reached in the first way objective may not put needless difficulties in the way of readers unacquainted with the phraseology of technical philosophy. It is perhaps not fair to ask a philosopher to avoid language which may be misleading to a layman, but this reviewer is of the opinion that not a little of the disrepute into which theology has fallen today is due to the fact that the reader fails to recognize in the words used a description of the realities with which he feels in personal contact. This is the more to be regretted because the necessity for personal contact, in contrast to the purely disinterested knowledge of science and philosophy, is the point which Dr. Kroner most desires to emphasize. This point of contact can be found only in the imagination since God, the transcendent yet ever present, can only be apprehended through symbol.

The other point at which Dr. Kroner's discussion is suggestive has to do with the antinomy in which we are involved in any attempt to deal with the origin of sin. Of all the chapters in his book I have found that on Original Sin (IX) the most original. The point he makes here is that the experience of sin has an indispensable contribution to make to the attainment of full self-consciousness. "Original sin," the author insists, "and the origin of man's selfhood cannot be separated" (p. 193). Man "awakes to freedom only by misusing it" (*ibid.*). This gives sin its tragic character and is the theme of the great dramas both of the Greeks and of our own day. To Christian faith, as to the Greeks, sin is at once inevitable and guilty. We blame ourselves, and others blame us, for what experience proves to be an inevitable stage in our coming to full maturity as human beings.

In his first chapter Dr. Kroner pays his respects to Karl Barth, but he refuses to follow him in his depreciation of natural theology. For reason, even

though it cannot attain the kind of knowledge reached only by faith, can assure us that there is something beyond reason to be known. "The fact that each of us is one and the same person permits and even commands us to assert that it is one and the same divine mystery that confronts us in philosophy as well as in religion" (p. 19).

Two queries remain in the reviewer's mind as he attempts to appraise the line of reasoning followed by the author in the lectures. One has to do with the relation of faith and its correlate revelation, as it meets us in the religious imagination, to the intuition of the artist and the poet. Dr. Kroner seems to imply, even if he does not explicitly assert, that the former supplies something that the latter lacks but he fails to make clear what that something is. Is that "something" to be found in the nature of the intuition used or only (as seems most likely to the reviewer) in the nature of the reality to be apprehended? In other words, does faith give us a new way of knowing, or only the application of an old way to a new subject matter?

The other query has to do with the place of history in the Christian apprehension of God. Dr. Kroner touches on this in his last chapter, but in a way which he himself recognizes is too brief to do justice to the subject matter. Do we meet in the historic Jesus something wholly *sui generis* or only the supreme example of a kind of revelation of which all previous history gives us instances? Dr. Kroner seems to imply the former though the whole argument would seem to point in the latter direction.

The view of history briefly suggested in the Gifford Lectures is amplified in the second volume under review, *How do we know God?* Here the author contrasts two meanings of history, one the purely scientific meaning in which history is regarded simply as the sum total of things which have happened; the other the subjective view which regards it as our knowledge of that past (written or recorded history). Neither does justice to the religious view of history as the scene of God's progressive self-revelation. Here the religious imagination comes to its own as a way of mediating between the purely objective and the purely subjective views. History as the religious man conceives it is a drama in which God and man are actors, or better still an epic in which in poetic language God is unfolding his purpose to man's creative imagination. "This larger knowledge," he tells us, "has found spiritual expression in Biblical history. The 'beyond' is God who is also 'within' " (p. 125). This self-revelation of the transcendent God in history reaches its culmination in the person of Christ.

> The *universal* God appears as a *particular* historical person, when He creates the world in seven days; the *particular* historical Jesus appears as the *universal* son of God, when He overcomes the historical world and returns to God. Faith in Christ thus loses its meaning if this metaphysical synthesis is denied and Jesus conceived as man only. For this reason, the Resurrection which, as a mirror, reflects this central reli-

gious experience, is central in the Christian faith. Christ is thus the highest synthesis conceivable. He unites not only *historical particularity* and *superhistorical universality*, but also the actuality of a *recorded* with the actuality of a *fulfilled expectation:* history, actual life, and the eternity of God are gathered together in one great burst of glory (pp. 127–128).

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN

THE FLAVOR OF MARTIN LUTHER

A COMPEND OF LUTHER'S THEOLOGY, *edited by* HUGH THOMPSON KERR, JR. *The Westminster Press, $2.00.*

THIS is a welcome volume. Luther's is still the most resounding voice in Protestantism. After four hundred years men still attribute to him credit for what is happening today. Not that there is agreement as to the precise effects of his career. Some look upon him as the cause of all modern woes. Others are accused of considering him as possessed of more than papal infallibility. But that he was effective few will deny.

Not the least remarkable testimony to the significance of the Reformer is the extent of his influence in the English-speaking world, which until recently has had little access to Luther's writings. Even now the bulk of his work is untranslated. Since Professor Kerr depends altogether on available English renditions, the *Compend* becomes a compendium of Luther's theology thus far translated. And the most serious criticism this reviewer would make is that the result is a partial Luther. The editor has relied especially on Lenker's work, and the six volume Philadelphia edition. Only the latter can be called a critical edition. For translations of separate works, such as *The Bondage of the Will* and *The Commentary on Galatians*, the basic English versions are a century old. How poorly off the English theological student is in this respect is apparent to one who will consult the work of the British theologians, as they have brought out new translations based on the authentic Weimar edition.

The result of complete dependence on English sources is evident, too, in a comparison of this *Compend* in English with a similar volume in German; for instance E. Hirsch's *Hilfsbuch zum Studium der Dogmatik* (Berlin 1937). The German compiler has a much richer storehouse of material, especially in the Commentaries, the single sermons, and the Postils. One example is sufficient. Kerr has seven pages on what is undoubtedly the heart of Luther's theology, the doctrine of justification by faith. Hirsch has three times as much, most of it not yet in English.

Still, for what it does contain, this volume is valuable. It will enable the general reader to sense something of the vitality, the directness, the fervor of Luther. Here he can find Luther's own words on the great topics of God and man and redemption. It will introduce the student to the elaborate treatises

of the Reformer, but also to the catechisms, the sermons, the hymns, the table-talk of a man who was a great teacher, preacher, musician, and withal, a great soul.

The scholar may find enough in this *Compend* to convince him that many of the current estimates of Luther are erroneous. Luther is still seen through the spectacles of scholasticism and orthodoxism. His revolutionary conception of grace as regenerative in the full sense of a re-creation is not yet understood in its bearing on Christian character, and the place of such a character in society is not realized by those who think in Thomistic terms of natural and supernatural, inherited *imago*, and hierarchically mediated grace. Luther shook the Church from its scholastic slumber, but it soon turned over again and went on in its pleasant philosophic dream, unaware that what the Reformer meant by the *Word* was not a new doctrine, but a perception of the power of God even now at work.

May the *Compend* lead to a discovery of the whole Luther!

CONRAD BERGENDOFF

MAN COMPOUNDED WITH DIVINITY

RELIGION OF TOMORROW, *by* JOHN ELOF BOODIN. *The Philosophical Library*, $2.50.

IN THE cross currents of opinion in any age it is the task of the philosopher to give guidance based on the long perspective of enduring truths. Professor Boodin, author of several important works in technical philosophy, leaves the platform for the fireside in this book, and out of a rich background and a sincere mind talks about the urgent need which men have for the creative presence of God.

To some readers the book will seem to have been written before the desperate situation of our Western culture and of our liberal religious faith became clear to us; for Dr. Boodin speaks with a calmness that they will think bromidic. I must confess that much of it seemed trite to me; but an author who seeks to rescue the common grounds of human experience from commonplace expression of them and yet to avoid the recondite inevitably lays himself open to the charge of being banal. He must trust in the sturdiness of common sense, and resist the specious complexities and novelties of the sophisticate. This the present author has striven to do.

The general theme of the book is that man's sense of the presence of God tends to pass into abstract concepts of God, and needs perennially to be brought back to a renewal of that consciousness of God which "enhances all true communion with nature as well as man." This renewal is not to be any neurotic emotional arousal without intellectual focus. Rather must it be a cultivation of thought, of beauty, and of thoughtfulness. "There are infinite potentialities in you when compounded with divinity in true and

sincere co-operative activities." When this divinity is realized for its creative power, life is transformed. One of the neglected sacraments of religion is participation in a common life. This is the root of democratic citizenship; and the way to God's creative reconstruction of our social life.

Such participation comes by insight and by love. Often these two are set in opposition because Philistine cynicism and selfishness confuse insight and exclude the penetrating apprehensions of a loving mind. These penetrations reach not only into other human souls, but into the meaning of the universe as well; for "the whole essence of God is expressed in the characterization 'God is love'." Love is the secret of the cohesion of the universe, the clue to creative advance, the meaning of immortality. As love spreads in widening circles it cements group unities. The next step here is the unification of mankind in a community of nations. At the same time, "if we succeed in seizing upon the significant, then shall our lives become part of the creative process of history, the creative purpose of the ages . . . (and) this bit of precious energy somehow be refined and start on its nobler destiny." Pain cannot be escaped in this process, but where it is an expression of sacrificial love it joins the procession of the future which marches over Golgotha; and enters into the growing, creative whole which is God's world.

Does this sound like liberal Christianity, catching once again the living spirit of Jesus as its inspiration? So be it. The author says, "If the reader shall feel after reading this book that what I call the Religion of Tomorrow is only a new statement of the religion of Jesus of Nazareth, I shall feel happy, but I shall still maintain that it is the religion of the future." These are brave words in the presence of our current theologism, and I for one am glad that he has uttered them, even though I could have wished for more vigor and more sense of the tragic in their utterance.

EDWIN E. AUBREY

DID JESUS USE TECHNICALITIES?

SON OF MAN AND KINGDOM OF GOD, *by* HENRY BURTON SHARMAN. *Harper & Brothers, $2.50.*

THOSE who know Dr. Sharman's earlier book, *The Teaching of Jesus About the Future*, will be familiar with the general pattern of this work. It is a critical study of the passages in the Synoptic Gospels which ascribe to Jesus the use of the phrases, "Son of Man" and "Kingdom of God." The examination of each of the two sets of sayings is carried on independently of the other — with some warrant in the sources, the author claims, since there are very few passages which refer both to the Son of Man and the Kingdom. The sayings in each category are further arranged by subject ("Confession and Denial of Jesus," "Demand for Signs from Jesus," and

the like), and under each head the sayings derived by Matthew or Luke (or both) from Mark are distinguished from those received from a non-Markan source, which Dr. Sharman wisely does not attempt to identify. The phenomena thus presented are then briefly discussed, usually by the asking of questions, which are usually not answered except in the two brief chapters which close the two sections of the book.

Dr. Sharman's position is that Jesus regarded himself as neither the Messiah of Jewish national political hopes nor yet as the Son of Man of apocalyptic expectation, and that the phrase "Kingdom of God" had for him no important eschatological meaning. The only future event which he *did* clearly foresee and frequently and dramatically predict was the destruction of Jerusalem. He thought of the Kingdom of God as existing whenever and wherever men acknowledge God as king. It is, therefore, past, present and future. The eschatological elements in the words of Jesus, as they were preserved, were read in by his followers, who thought in political Messianic terms during his life and in apocalyptic Son-of-Man terms after his death. Jesus had warned them against both Messianism and apocalypticism, but without effect.

With this radical depreciation, even denial, of the eschatological element in Jesus' teaching, few students of the Gospels will agree, although Dr. Sharman does a service in reminding us that the phrase "Kingdom of God" had a significance wider than the merely eschatological and also that no simple answer can be given to the question of how Jesus interpreted his own nature and work. The book would be more adequate if it did not confine itself so completely to a study of literary phenomena — that is, if some account were taken of the life and thought of Judaism to which, for all of its originality, Jesus' life and thought so integrally belonged, and if more attention had been given to the work of other scholars in this field of New Testament eschatology.

JOHN KNOX

A GOSPEL IS WRITTEN

THE EARLIEST GOSPEL. STUDIES OF THE EVANGELIC TRADITION AT ITS POINT OF CRYSTALLIZATION IN WRITING, *by* FREDERICK C. GRANT. *The Cole Lectures for 1943, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, $2.50.*

ON FIRST inspection the lectures presented in this volume appear to be more or less unconnected studies of problems or aspects of Mark's Gospel. After an introductory chapter, one finds chapters on the origin of the Gospel, the status of the evangelic tradition when Mark wrote, the main themes of apostolic preaching, Torrey's thesis of the Aramaic origin of the Gospel, a review and acceptance of Lohmeyer's view of the double origin of Christianity in Galilee and Jerusalem respectively, the theology

of Mark's Gospel, the central position of the passion narrative in its structure, the relationship of the Gospel to the thought of Paul, Mark and anti-Semitism, and Mark and the social gospel. Some of these chapters are detailed and technical in character, particularly the one dealing with Torrey's Aramaic hypothesis; others, especially the last two, deal with larger themes of general religious interest and importance. Taken together the essays cover virtually all of the important questions which are raised by Mark's Gospel, and consequently with a number of the important issues in connection with the life of Christ. All are written with the fine grasp of the recent literature on the subject, Continental as well as English and American, which is a characteristic of all of Professor Grant's work.

So firmly based is the volume in this respect and so excellent is the interpretation of the drift of recent criticism, that the book reminds one of and will perhaps render in our day something of the same service that Sanday's volume *The Life of Christ in Recent Research* did a generation ago.

Grant accepts the view that the Gospel was compiled by a member of the church at Rome who knew a little Aramaic and "had helped Peter with his Greek." He places it before 70 A.D. The author knew very little about Palestine, and the tradition which he records "had already been torn loose from its native soil." It was written in Greek, though the compiler may himself have translated a few fragments which were available to him in Aramaic.

The impression of unconnectedness disappears on a careful reading of Professor Grant's volume. The several discussions are brought together by a central theme which repeatedly emerges and is the primary contribution of the book. This is a fresh interpretation of the theological point of view of the Gospel. The theme of the book, says Grant, was to present Jesus not as raised to Messiahship after the resurrection, but already as the Messiah — Son of Man during his earthly life. The "Messianic secret" in this Gospel of which Wrede made so much, is secondary to this main theme. One need only compare Mark's ideas in this respect with Paul's to see their distinctiveness. To Paul, little of Jesus' earthly career, other than the death and resurrection, was significant. To Mark, the earthly career was full of meaning. The power over the demons, the wonderful cures and other mighty works, were demonstrations of a function not yet fully revealed. Even the story of the empty tomb, a story in which Paul takes no interest, reflects this point of view. To Mark, the resurrected body of Christ was his natural body, transmuted and glorified.

Mark thus was the precursor of the Fourth Evangelist, since for him also Jesus while on earth "manifested his glory." The consequences of this conception were of the greatest importance. The person of Jesus — not the personality of Jesus, but "a theological idea" — became for the evangelist

the center of interest, and the "mystery of the Kingdom of God" was understood by him to be the secret of Jesus' Messiahship. Instead of Paul's doctrine of the spirit of Christ, attention is centered on "the mysterious, half divine, apocalyptic Son of Man, who had lived incognito upon earth and had risen again." Involved in this were the seeds of later creedal controversies and the beginnings of something which Mark himself would not have encouraged, "the sentimental, saccharine, sweetly-sick Jesuolatry that has mistaken strong emotion for the evidence of religion, has softened the ethical fibre and clouded the whole theological sky of certain areas of Christianity." In other words, this interpretation in Mark tended to obscure the actual character of Jesus' earthly life with its profound religious values, while at the same time tending to displace the Pauline emphasis on the risen Christ.

Enough has been said to show the importance of this reconstruction of the Marcan theology. In addition to its intrinsic merit it has the value of constituting a wholesome corrective of the one-sided view, so frequently expressed, that Mark's sole interest was in the Passion story and its interpretation. Grant himself, curiously enough, drops back into this language in one chapter — "The whole gospel deals with the question, Why did Jesus die?" — an assertion which, if it means that this is the one theme of the Gospel, his book successfully refutes. For while the interest in Jesus as the Messiah-designate and therefore the performer of mighty works cannot, of course, be separated completely from the story of the Passion, it is not merely an aspect of that account and represents patently a further interest on the part of the evangelist. The Gospel of Mark is a broader and more inclusive work than some recent literature concerning it may suggest.

The last two chapters should not go unmentioned. Grant admits the presence in the Gospel of anti-Semitism, even while he deprecates it. "Christianity and Judaism are not two religions but one," he writes in a fine passage. As the explanation of the entrance of anti-Semitism into the Christian tradition he suggests Gentile Christians of Rome, where, as we know from the classic writers, there was at the time much anti-Jewish feeling. The discussion of Mark and the social gospel is equally forthright. The Gospel was the product of a martyr church and has no interest in the solution of secular social problems. Nor was Jesus' teaching social, in the modern sense of that word. "It was a religious ethic which involved a social as well as a personal application, but within the framework of the beloved society of the Kingdom of God."

The volume thus addresses itself to the central problems of the Gospel and subjects them to an informed and balanced judgment. It contains much fruit for both scholar and teacher.

HARVIE BRANSCOMB

THE PIOUS IMPERIALIST

RELIGION AND EMPIRE, *by* LOUIS B. WRIGHT. *The University of North Carolina Press, $2.00.*

THREE books were regarded by the East India Company as indispensable when furnishing its ships — the English Bible, Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," and Richard Hakluyt's "The Principal Navigations." The first reflected the seventeenth century merchant's preoccupation with religion, the second his deep-rooted hostility to Catholic Spain, and the third his sincere belief that the expansion of English trade was not only due to the enterprise and hardihood of the trader, but was peculiarly favored by an over-ruling Providence. Hakluyt's works were immensely popular because he not only stirred the imagination, but appealed to the conscience of his readers. He was industrious, sensible, and quite sincere. He had the pious Protestant's zeal for taking the Gospel to the heathen, which was to him an essential part of any program for overseas trade or for colonizing North America. He had the pious Protestant's fear and dislike of imperial Spain, and both as a Protestant and as a patriot he urged his government to seize strategic points in the West and check the ambitious schemes of Philip II.

As Professor Wright shows, Hakluyt was only one of a succession of preachers who saw the expansion of England in the New World and in the East as part of the divine plan. The same conviction was held by most of the merchants, who felt that God's blessing would attend their ventures if they showed a proper care for true religion and sound morals. Chaplains were assigned to the ships, but only after the most careful examination. The authorities were deeply distressed to learn that one of the most promising of their divines had fallen sadly when faced with the manifold temptations of the East. They were also distressed to hear that another chaplain had been charged with "disanimating the mariners" by a sermon preached before a fight with the Dutch, in which the preacher, more honest than discreet, had suggested that justice might be found on both sides. "The official concern over the influence of his remarks focuses attention on an important function of the chaplains. In the language of today, they were morale officers." Diligence in conducting public prayers, care in supervising the morals of the men, frugality in his own way of living, and ability to carry on controversy — with theological adversaries such as the Jesuits — these were the marks of the successful chaplain.

The author is concerned to show, not only the part played by this kind of piety in the growth of English imperialism, but also its close connection with the austere determination so conspicuous in American Puritanism. To the modern reader, a good deal of the rhetoric of Hakluyt and Purchas sounds like cant, and he is apt to suspect both the eloquent preachers and

the pious merchants of hypocrisy. But this is to approach the sixteenth and seventeenth century with judgments formed by twentieth century enlightenment — or sophistication. In his closing pages, Professor Wright pays tribute to the strength and sincerity of this religious zeal, in spite of its obvious harshness and narrowness. "Many Americans," he writes, "have felt that the lack of a positive national faith and goal has been one of our greatest shortcomings. Historically, we must be aware that a nation without a zeal for something besides its own ease and comfort is doomed." He feels that the war has made this need more obvious, and he seems to look for a revival of the "sense of destiny" in terms of a "true patriotism." "Unless we develop a belief in ourselves and an almost fanatical faith in our destiny, we shall continue to sleepwalk on the brink of ruin."

It is a pity that this subject is not further developed, although perhaps that would carry the author too far beyond the scope of his work. For several questions remain unanswered. How, for example, is "an almost fanatical faith in our destiny" to be kept free from the fantasies of contemporary nationalism (which the author abhors) and harmonized with "a rational belief in our obligations and responsibilities" (which he earnestly desires)? And what part — if any — is contemporary religion to play? How is it to escape the errors which seem so obvious when we read the pious effusions of our ancestors, which they themselves never for a moment perceived? However, enough has been said to show that this book has an interest for many besides specialists in sixteenth and seventeenth century colonial history.

W. Lyndon Smith

APOLOGETICS IN REVERSE

The Case for Christianity, *by* C. S. Lewis. *The Macmillan Company, $1.00.*
Return to Christianity, *by* Nels F. S. Ferré, *Harper & Brothers, $1.00.*

THE appearance of a number of good, small books, each selling for a dollar, is one of the more hopeful signs of our time. We have today many vigorous minds, devoted to the presentation of the Christian faith as a tenable faith, and some of the best thought of this kind is being made easily available to those who do not have a great deal to spend. The two books which are the subject of this review are excellent evidence that books do not need to be long in order to be profound, and that waters do not need to be muddied to make them look deep.

C. S. Lewis, already known to numerous readers for his brilliant success in turning the tables of sophistication, *The Screwtape Letters*, uses his clear mind in the present volume to show that the Gospel is more credible than is any known alternative. The book is a series of broadcast talks, given over

the B.B.C.; but let no potential reader suppose for that reason, that the argument is loose. The argument is carefully made, but the words are the simple words that every literate person knows.

The secret of the method of Lewis is the secret of attack. Instead of assuming that Christianity is under attack, and consequently requiring defense, Lewis goes forth to do battle against the enemy. While in *Screwtape* he made the sophisticate seem amusing, here he makes the atheist seem stupid. "When I was an atheist," he says, "I had to try to persuade myself that the whole human race were pretty good fools until about one hundred years ago; when I became a Christian I was able to take a more liberal view."

Atheism, especially of the fashionable kind which calls itself naturalism, is shown to be inadequate, chiefly on two grounds,— that it cannot account for *moral judgment*, and it cannot account for *thought*. "Very well then, atheism is too simple."

There is nothing original in Lewis' book except the manner of presentation. Many in our time have presented the difficulties inherent in any rejection of theism, but few have presented them so cogently in such short space. It is interesting that he begins with moral experience, apparently because he wants to begin where his case is particularly strong. The theistic evidence implicit in moral experience is presented by an analysis of what it means to *quarrel*. "Everyone has heard people quarreling," the book begins. Lewis then goes on to show that the act of quarreling loses all its point unless there is some standard about which both persons agree. "It looks, in fact, very much as if both parties had in mind some kind of Law or Rule of fair play . . . about which they really agreed." It appears that people are actually forced to believe in *real* Right and *real* Wrong, even though they may be mistaken about *which* acts are right or wrong. "I find that I don't exist on my own, that I'm under a law." But the existence of a moral order, without which our human experience makes no sense, means that the atheist who supposes there is only matter and force is *wrong*.

Just as Lewis shows atheism to be too simple, he likewise shows that the person who thinks everything is lovely is too simple. In fact, he is not a Christian. "Both these are boy's philosophies." Real things aren't simple, even if they look so, and that is the reason Christianity isn't simple.

The only unsatisfactory part of the book is the concluding part in which Lewis deals much too briefly with Christian institutions. He says there are three things that spread the Christ life to us, baptism, belief, and Holy Communion. While no Christian would doubt the importance of these three, it is difficult to see why these three are chosen above all others. The author appears to think that it is a matter of experience which he is reporting, rather than a dogma which he is asserting, but the accuracy of the

report may be seriously doubted. There are so many conductors of the new life that the choice of any three seems unnecessarily arbitrary.

Nels Ferré's book is very different from that of C. S. Lewis, but both writers know how to speak profound truths in clear English. Furthermore both of them know very well that, since no system is likely to be utterly free from difficulties, the wise procedure is to *compare* difficulties. It appears that both are Christians, not because they find Christianity free from difficulties, but because they find more difficulties in any alternative belief. Thus Ferré pays his respects to the group who still, in the face of experience, suppose that science provides a self-sufficient way to truth and the good life. "Never," he reminds us, "was civilization so broadly and deeply threatened as in the brightest day of scientific achievement." Professor Ferré believes greatly in science and he trusts in reason as God-given, but he insists, on the basis of experience, that "*apart from moral purpose* reason can be prostituted for the lowest ends." It is the unsatisfactoriness of the kind of life in which reason is so prostituted which drives him initially in the direction of the Christian faith.

As is the case in the reasoning of Lewis, Ferré's argument proceeds by showing the untenability of several possible positions. Both traditional theology and modernism are found almost as unsatisfactory as mere science, in that they fail to provide man with significant spiritual truth or the moral dynamics to achieve it. The only solution, the author argues, is a *radical* Christianity. He is at great pains to distinguish this from the mild form of Christianity which now provides the Western world with a traditional spiritual pattern.

The rest of the book is an effort to describe this radical Christianity, apart from which Ferré thinks contemporary civilization has little chance of being saved. Most of the analysis centers around the general problem of the individual and the group. This is natural, inasmuch as one of the most obvious weaknesses of our contemporary humanism is its atomistic individualism, and the consequent hunger for *belonging*, evidences of which have appeared in unhealthy as well as healthy ways. The three chapters devoted to this question are concerned with the Individual, the Church, and Society.

I do not think Ferré's excellent book is well named. The title, obviously patterned after a recently popular one, suggests to the reader that it is concerned chiefly with the movement back to the ancient faith on the part of modern man. The book does tell one reason for such a return, but it is by no means an attempt to tell this story fully. I think the purpose of the book would be clearer if the title suggested the interest in Radical Christianity as against milder forms.

Finally it is interesting to compare the work of these two authors. Both are concerned with the task of giving reasons for the hope that is in them and

both address themselves in fresh ways to our generation. The chief difference is that the English scholar is sharper in his dialectic, where the American theologian is more successful in expressing something of religious feeling. Lewis' book is brilliant and convincing, but it is not a religious book. It is a book *about* religion. Ferré's book is not primarily remarkable for its dialectical skill, but it comes very near to that rare article, a religious book.

D. Elton Trueblood

A PERSONALISTIC CHRISTIAN ETHICS

The Principles of Christian Ethics, *by* Albert C. Knudson. *Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, $2.75.*

COMING at the climax of a long and distinguished career as a theologian, seminary teacher and author, this latest book by Dr. Knudson is destined to take its place beside Emil Brunner's *The Divine Imperative* as one of the greatest works on Christian ethics written in our time. This is due in part to the striking paucity of material available in this area. Although ethics would seem to be the capstone of any system of Christian thought, and reflections upon the principles of Christian morality the most lively and pertinent of all speculation, theologians rarely get around to giving us in any organized way their understanding of the bases of Christian action. To have this work at this time from the pen of Dr. Knudson is a great boon. Moreover, the clarity and completeness of argument and the breadth of the author's historical orientation would make this statement of Christian ethics outstanding even in a field in which there were numerous contributions.

The contents of this volume fall naturally into two divisions discussing theory and practical application, the former having three sub-topics: the province and history of Christian ethics; the moral nature of man, sin, and conversion as presuppositions of Christian ethics; and Christianity's moral ideal, comprised of the principle of love, the principle of perfection, and the elements of Christian character. The section on practical application, in which Dr. Knudson discusses the ethical problems of the individual, the family, the state and war, the church and culture, and the economic order, is in many respects the most rewarding. The whole is informed by a profound appreciation for the historic Christian tradition, and a discriminating dependence upon its specific ethical doctrines.

At numerous points in the argument Dr. Knudson pauses to find his standpoint in what Christian communities, or the great theologians, have taught concerning the point at issue. The result is a rare blending of personalistic philosophical ethics and distinctly Christian ethics, so that these two strains supplement each other without the independent province of theological ethics being destroyed. Throughout, Dr. Knudson fights a two-

way battle, against hedonistic naturalism on the one hand and neo-Protestant thought on the other.

This volume will be greeted by personalists as a definitive statement of Christian ethics. The same reaction may be expected from that vast number of Christians whose naïve form of practical personalism lends credence to the claim that personalism is *the* Christian point of view. One who falls outside of both these groups, however, will dissent at certain points. Any Christian ethic must agree that his moral nature is fundamental to man, or his capacity to have moral experience; but he need not agree with Dr. Knudson that human sin is due primarily to the fact that before man has matured enough to have explicit moral experience he has already acquired deeply ingrained habits of doing evil (p. 84–5). Dr. Knudson objects to the tendency on the part of certain neo-Protestant theologians to "de-moralize sin"; but surely his own view excludes sin from the human spirit *qua* spirit, removes it from the depths of human freedom, and truly "de-moralizes" it. Contemporary reformulations of the doctrine of "original" sin, against which Dr. Knudson contends, do not teach that sin is necessitated either by inheritance or by imputation, but simply that its "origin" is in the spirit of man rather than in his acquired moral character. In direct contrast to this is Dr. Knudson's view that the doctrine of original sin is significant only because it symbolizes the extreme difficulty of the moral task of overcoming the acquired moral nature (p. 101–2).

The fact is that the tendency of sin to infect high morality cannot be adequately assessed in terms of the original moral judgment from which the high morality tends to spring, nor be effectively eradicated by it. Nor can sin be adequately comprehended by defining it as the simple negation of this moral judgment, or a failure to live up to it. Moral righteousness needs to be saved from "de-moralized sin" by a supra-moral relation of faith.

This suggests a theory of the relation between philosophical and Christian ethics in addition to those considered by Dr. Knudson. He allows Christian ethics the independent status of providing positive supplement to philosophical ethics in the form of having its own distinctive problems, religious presuppositions, historical materials, and terminology. If for the sake of morality Christian ethics must recognize that man's sin is deeper than his morality, then Christian ethics is related to philosophical ethics (which ignores this fact) as supplementing it by criticism and by suggesting its salvation by faith. To paraphrase Barth, "Christianity is not an ethic, but the negation of all ethics" — not of the latter's reasonable methods of arriving at its standards, but of any single instance of their application in a human life.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the entire discussion of the application of Christian ethics is informed by the doctrine of the "orders of crea-

tion," and not merely by the more personalistic principles set forth in the theoretical section. True, in the discussion of ethical theory there was an incidental and somewhat negative reference to the fact that the orders of creation serve to interpose obstacles in the way of the realization of the moral ideal and the expression of the principle of love (p. 133). But it appears that, in practice, the orders are to be valued more positively. Knudson is fortunately applying here a "principle of Christian ethics" to which he unfortunately does not give much place in his theory, namely, the principle of "response to divine activity" in creation. Dr. Knudson, the personalist, is more than a personalist; but, one must suspect, a personalist as such is different from a Christian, unless he be a personalistic Christian, which a Christian may possibly not be. If the principle of response to divine activity in creation had been allowed more largely to displace philosophical moralism in the formulation of ethical theory, it is possible that appropriate response to other aspects of divine activity, such as judgment and redemption, would have been recognized as cardinal principles, as such, of Christian as distinct from personalistic morality. Thus would have been avoided, e.g., the error of classing as Machiavellian Brunner's view that a chief function of the state is the restraint of sin (p. 215–6). This is not only Brunner, but traditionally Christian, and follows as the proper response of the Christian to God's judgment through the state upon sin, his own as well as that of other men. The needed emphasis in ethical theory upon response to divine activity does not eliminate the principle of response to personality, but it does rightly subordinate it, moderating the "sacredness" of human personality and giving to human beings and social orders alike a value only derivative from the creation of God, who alone is sacred.

PAUL RAMSEY

THEOLOGY TRANSCENDING CONTROVERSY

TOWARDS BELIEF IN GOD, *by* HERBERT H. FARMER. *The Macmillan Company, $2.00.*

HERBERT FARMER is one of the foremost of a group of theologians, flourishing most in Britain, who seem to transcend the current controversies. They transcend them in part because they have always represented the distinctively Christian tradition and therefore they did not need to be called back to it. They have always avoided the extremes of a secularized liberalism and so they were not vulnerable to the criticisms of that tendency. They have not been tempted by wholesale theological condemnations of human nature or of reason. They are not in revolt against their own past. They are fair-minded and constructive and they bring to their thinking a deep piety that, during maturity, has never been seriously shaken. William Temple is of this group among Anglicans, and among Free-

Churchmen there is no better representative of it than Professor Farmer. He is well fitted to be, to an unusual degree, a minister's theologian because all of his thinking is closely related to personal experience. His major work so far is a volume entitled *The World and God.*

The book before us is the complete re-writing of an earlier book, *Experience of God.* This book is almost twice as long, more careful and academic and much less inspired. It lacks the freshness and the power of the earlier book. The structure of the thought is the same and, as far as I can detect, the new volume, though it was written because we are in a new situation, shows very little influence even in mood from that new situation. If the older book were available I should still recommend it to most readers ahead of this one, but since it is out of print I strongly recommend *Towards Belief in God.*

The strength of both books is that Professor Farmer sees clearly the interrelationship between direct intuitive experience and reflection upon the world, between faith and reason. He shows that there are three strands in Christian belief which are woven together — the coercive element, clearest in the case of the claims of moral goodness upon us; the pragmatic element which takes the form of the ways in which men actually find what he calls "succour" through the work of God (the Farmer theology revolves around the two expressions "absolute demand" and "final succour"); and the reflective rational element which is the attempt to relate faith coherently to all the facts of experience.

The value of Farmer's thought is the extent to which he emphasizes all three of these elements. With those who now protest against rationalism he sees that we are not likely to make any sense out of the world unless we begin with faith. He sees also that this faith is not without points of contact with the sense of reverence before the "Holy" or the moral loyalty of those who are outside the Christian orbit. On the other hand he emphasizes the ways in which the Christian faith meets not so much human wishes but persistent human needs as no other conception of life does. It is also supported by a theistic philosophy which has strong rational support. It is easy to find thinkers who say precisely the same things that Farmer does about each of these strands in Christian belief but it is difficult to find those who do as much justice to all of them.

The second half of the book deals with difficulties such as the problem of evil and alternative explanations of religion such as Durkheim's theory. It is not a very distinctive treatment of these matters but it is important that the author sees the issues raised.

The spirit of the book, and of Farmer's theology, may be seen in his treatment of the Cross and the Resurrection. He says that the Cross sets before us a choice which is inescapable. Either it means that Christian faith is fan-

tastically false or it means that Christian faith is so "firmly rooted in fact, that it can afford to accept seemingly utter defeat, knowing that the victory, God's victory is in the end with it." There is coerciveness here for most souls when they confront the real alternatives. Because God is in the Cross we do say "yes" rather than "no" in the face of this dilemma. But what of the Resurrection? Farmer says that we cannot take the Resurrection as an external prop that enables us to say "yes" to the Cross. Rather it confirms the answer which we give to the Cross itself. And here is one of Farmer's characteristic convictions. He says: "Nor will the answer of the Resurrection be at all convincing unless something of the same answer — his own answer — is already stirring within the soul of a man as he confronts the dilemma of the Cross."

JOHN C. BENNETT

ONE THEOLOGIAN GOES ON GROWING

THEOLOGY IN TRANSITION, *by* WALTER MARSHALL HORTON. *Harper & Brothers, $2.50.*

TWO of Dr. Horton's earlier books, *A Psychological Approach to Theology* and *Realistic Theology*, have been brought together in this volume, and introduced with a reprinting of his article in the *Christian Century* a year ago in which he discussed the changes in his thinking during the past decade. The result of this association of an early, rather liberal, volume, by Dr. Horton, with a later one in which he is well on the road towards the more traditionally-minded position taken in his recent study of the person of Christ, is that one can see, clearly enough, both the continuity in his thought and also the genuine development which has led him from a position not unlike that of the general run of pre-war liberalism (although always with the difference that he was more penetrating and far-sighted than most who followed this school) to a deeply based and generally orthodox theology which takes account of the great tradition in Western thought and seeks to restate rather than to revamp the "everlasting gospel."

The reviewer is so much in sympathy with Dr. Horton's present line of thought that he can find little to say by way of critical comment. It was pretty obvious that when Horton was concerning himself with psychology and scientific thought, he was hardly contented with the results . . . far too rich and real was his own religious experience, one may assume; far too sincere his loyalty to the community of Christian believers. And so one would have expected — and one was not disappointed — that he would reach that recognition of the facts behind beliefs like "original sin," "redemption in Christ," the "Body of Christ," "the incarnation," and others, which emerges in *Realistic Theology*.

What is even more interesting, however, is that in the *Christian Century*

article, here reproduced, one sees at work the process of thought which in the end would bring Dr. Horton — and in his last book has brought him — to an accepting understanding of the insight of such theologians as St. Augustine, — and even to find that St. Thomas Aquinas was not perhaps without reason! One also knows now that his generosity of thought and breadth of interest would prevent him from becoming *merely* the purveyor of traditional doctrine.

This book is heartily to be recommended to the reading of those who wish to see where honest thinking, in the fellowship of the Christian church, will lead a man who wishes to be realistic about God and man, and who firmly believes that the true realism is to be found within (not outside, nor on the periphery of) the Christian community.

W. Norman Pittenger

CONSERVATIVE PROTESTANTISM REAFFIRMED

The Word of God and the Reformed Faith. *Grand Rapids, Michigan, Baker's Book Store, $1.00.*

THE book comprises addresses delivered at the Second American Calvinistic Conference held at Calvin College and Seminary, in Grand Rapids, in June, 1942. The theme of the gathering centered about the nature and meaning of the Word of God.

The designation "Calvinists" has been equated throughout with a conservative interpretation of Protestant Christianity, and the chief emphases fall upon the infallibility of the Scriptures: "No error of fact has ever been found in that inscriptured word" (p. 41). All other modes of interpretation, even of other equally conservative groups, are rejected; no wonder, therefore, that such modern, although essentially Calvinistic, theologians as Barth and Brunner, not to speak of scientists as Eddington, Jeans, and Millikan, are shown no leniency (pp. 68ff., 116). The "progressive revelation" is likewise repudiated (although this is contradicted on p. 81), and it is asserted that such a doctrine as justification is the same whether found in Habakkuk or the Epistle to the Romans (p. 42). Instead of the analytical, critical method of "higher criticism," "the harmonistic method of interpretation" is advocated (p. 100). But perhaps further explication of the point of the view dominating the whole Conference is unnecessary; for this gathering neither wished to add nor did add anything new to what has generally been known as the conservative type of interpretation of Protestant Christianity. This the various speakers of the Conference restated and reaffirmed in a cogent, fairly consistent, and positive fashion.

The reader's hopes that the foreign delegates might perhaps describe the present conditions of their European communions are sadly disap-

pointed. Their addresses are mere official expressions of fraternal greetings, with but the barest and most generalized references to the concrete historical details relating to their churches.

The book will undoubtedly contribute to the sense of solidarity and close family relationship among the Calvinistic churches of this order, and knit them together in closer co-operation. It is in this sense that it possesses a certain importance for the current development of the Protestant movement of our times.

MATTHEW SPINKA

THE WORD OF GOD FOR EVERY MAN

PREACHING THE WORD OF GOD, *by* MORGAN PHELPS NOYES. *Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.00.*

BOOKS on preaching usually fall into one of two classes. First, there is the practical book which gives suggestions in the mechanics of the art and hints for more efficient methods of preparation. Second, there is the inspirational book which speaks of the ideals and high goals of the preacher's task. This, sixty-sixth in the series of Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching in Yale University, falls into the latter class. Dr. Noyes does not give us his advice on sermon preparation, but talks about the preaching of the Word of God in terms of its high demands and opportunities.

Perhaps the chief characteristic of the book is its simple style and its sane viewpoint of the preacher's calling. As a matter of fact, the first pages may be read with the feeling that there is nothing new or startling here, but just a quiet presentation of ideas which have passed through the mind of the reader many times. However, the book grows on one with continued reading and reveals an increasing number of deep and significant truths about the responsibility of the preacher's job in difficult and critical days. Dr. Noyes quotes other men liberally and his taste in choosing the quotations is excellent, so that one reaps the harvest of a wide and discriminating reading.

There are six chapters in *Preaching the Word of God*, the first one entitled "The Word and the Preacher." The preacher being but a man must lean heavily on sources for his knowledge of what the word of God is. He will turn first of all to the Bible which is concerned supremely with expressing the truth that God, through the centuries, has spoken to men. The Bible is an inexhaustible source book for the preacher. The living Christ, history and the Church will also reveal the Word to the preacher if he has made it his supreme ambition to become its worthy interpreter.

"The Word and the Church" is a reminder to those who want a perfect Christianity but who are impatient with the imperfect church, that we know nothing about a Christianity apart from the Christian fellowship.

There is a sense in which the church ought to be a failure, for it thus reveals that the spirit by which it judges the world is also a spirit which returns to judge it. In spite of all failure, the growing ecumenical spirit of Christianity produces a hope that the world of the future will continue to find the Word mediated through its offices.

"The Word and the World" is a discussion of the relationship of the Christian faith to the social conditions of its environment. Dr. Noyes points out the foolishness of not seeing that the Christian is also a merchant and a lawyer and an office worker. The preacher's job is not to define for him what his social attitudes must be, but to bring all Christians into the light of Christ's spirit with faith in the sufficiency of that experience. The church must maintain its fellowship in spite of differing views, but the unity is not to be regarded as worth the price if that price is to be the secularization of the message.

"The Word of God for Every Man" is one of the best chapters, and speaks about the message of the preacher for the people of his congregation. The Word is one for frustrated youngsters, telling them that every man's life counts for something, and that every man's life can be lived on a high plane. This is true because the Word points to a source of power for such living. There is an excellent section in this chapter on suffering as a usable instrument for spiritual ends. This clear word is given: "Let it be said again that the task and the privilege of the preacher is not the explanation of suffering. Very often what he can do is to help people meet suffering which he can understand no more than they" (p. 125).

The last two chapters are entitled "The Word and the Pastor," and "The Word and Worship." Dr. Noyes is saying that the Word speaks out of pastoral relations and through the worship experience. He is wise enough to stress the importance of both of these realms without suggesting that much calling always makes good preaching or that ritual is a substitute for the prophetic voice. There has been too much of that sort of nonsense talked in our time. But here as elsewhere, *Preaching the Word of God* maintains a balanced and helpful view toward the many and varied activities of the Christian preacher.

GERALD KENNEDY

CAN EDUCATION PASS ITS TEST?

EDUCATION AT THE CROSSROADS, *by* JACQUES MARITAIN. *Yale University Press, $2.00.*

JACQUES MARITAIN is a rare combination of philosophic wisdom, democratic insights and irenic spirit. In the present volume, the Terry Lectures for 1943, he has made a penetrating critique of contemporary education. Unlike most such writing his discussion is free from in-

vective, liberal in tone rather than doctrinaire, and concretely specific in recommendation. Much of what he proposes as to the organization of education all the way from the elementary level through the university is of more interest to professional educators than to non-technical readers. It parallels fairly closely President Hutchins' scheme, without the latter's extremeness and belligerency of utterance. (Maritain refers to Hutchins as one "who makes his voice sound unfriendly in order better to stimulate his friends.") But Maritain develops his proposals in the framework of a liberal educational philosophy, and reveals the working of a mind capable of finding essential merits in the systems he criticizes. This is a quality so lacking in most contemporary writing that even the reader who finds many points of departure from his own thought feels a breath of fresh, invigorating intellectual air as he reads these lectures.

The aim of education, says Maritain, is to "guide man in the evolving dynamism through which he shapes himself as a human person — armed with knowledge, strength of judgment, and moral virtues — while at the same time conveying to him the spiritual heritage of the nation and the civilization in which he is involved, and preserving in this way the century old achievements of generations." He enumerates seven "misconceptions" of education which have to do with the tendency to exalt means at the expense of ends; to misstate the ends of education; to foster "scholarly skepticism" with reference to truth as objectively real; to lose sight of man himself in the complex of social forces, subordinating education to the influence of environmental flux; to over-emphasize intellect either as dialectical skill or as experimental intelligence; to exalt the will, putting it in a false relation to intellect; and to believe that "anything" can be learned — that is to say, by formal educational processes: "neither intuition nor love is a matter of training and learning, they are gift and freedom."

The author's appreciation of the insights of modern education is evident throughout. The pupil is always the principal factor in the learning process. Education is to be conceived as liberation. That is the teacher's function. But education must be aimed at developing certain fundamental dispositions: toward truth and justice, work and the claims of others; also toward existence itself which must be accepted, including its animal phases, gladly and unashamed.

The life of reason requires training in logical thinking but more importantly it involves "insight or intuition." In describing how education of insight proceeds, Maritain becomes especially eloquent:

> It moves forward along the paths of spontaneous interest and natural curiosity, by grounding the exercise of memory in intelligence, and primarily by giving courage, by listening a great deal, and by causing the youth to trust and give expression to those spontaneous poetic or noetic impulses of his own which seem to him fragile

and bizarre, because they are not assured by any social sanction — and in fact any awkward gesture or rebuff or untimely advice on the part of the teacher can crush such timid sproutings and push them back into the shell of the unconscious (p. 43).

Education must aim at unity of hand and mind: "the social cleavage between *homo faber* and *homo sapiens* done away with." Hence there is no liberal education without philosophy and philosophy borrows heavily from theology. Hence no one can do without theology, "and the best way of avoiding the inconveniences of an insinuated theology is to deal with theology that is consciously aware of itself."

In the crisis of our time the younger generation occupies a difficult place. "Their naked nature is not mere nature, but nature which for centuries had been strengthened by reason and faith and accustomed to virtues, and which is now stripped of every prop. They stand in goodness upon nothing. How will they be tested in the hard world of tomorrow? What will their children be?" The modern educational task is accentuated by the collapse of an economic system and the disintegration occasioned by the war. Our problem is "to replace the individualism of the bourgeois era not by totalitarianism or the sheer collectivism of the beehive but by a personalistic and communal civilization, grounded on human rights and satisfying the social aspirations and needs of man." The education of tomorrow must also "bring to an end the cleavage between religious inspiration and secular activity in man."

As for Europe, the controls that will be instituted by the United Nations in the period immediately following the war should doubtless include educational controls but we must remember that "the oppressed peoples of Europe do not feel they need to be re-educated, they feel that they need to be liberated in order to co-operate with the Americas in the rebuilding of the world." Our educational task there is a "task of heroic friendship."

The author is afraid that "a swarm of professors sent from abroad as missionaries of true science would be given a rather cool reception by the German people and the other peoples of formerly Fascist states." It is better to count on "the adaptability of the German mind and the deep reserves inherent in the peoples." After all, any system of education has its main authority within itself. It should not depend on "obtrusive pressure of the State in order to help the effort of the body politic toward moral unity." Political authority by its very nature requires "free obedience based on conscience and moral obligation. The power of compulsion is only an additional property, arising from the fact that this command of justice may be, and is often in fact, disregarded by some. But without genuine authority, that is, without the very right to be obeyed by virtue of man's moral conscience, this power of compulsion is but tyrannical."

F. Ernest Johnson

FROM TRUCE TO PEACE

SCIENCE, RELIGION AND THE FUTURE, *by* CHARLES EARLE RAVEN. *The Macmillan Company, $2.00.*

CANON RAVEN is a professor in the University of Cambridge, England, whose present book brings together eight lectures on the relations of science and religion. He is especially equipped to write in this field because he is profoundly versed in biology and author of two authoritative books on the behavior of birds. His present work appears at a moment when people throughout the world are searching for a fresh vision of life and the universe. In reformulating this world view, what use will religion make of the results of scientific investigation? Raven's answer is as follows: The inadequate truce between religion and science has lasted too long. It was based on the mistaken assumption that the two resided in separate regions of the universe and might continue living apart. The author urges that the time for a truce on this basis is gone.

However, at the moment when an agreement between religion and science had seemed almost reached, a "paradox-mongering theology" raised its threatening head and reopened a discussion which Raven thinks might be regarded as normal for youth and may even now serve as a corrective for a stagnant adolescence which leads to obscurantism. It is tragical, however, that just at the time when the abler minds of Christendom were beginning to respond to the new outlook, "these revolutionaries reverted to the legends and superstitions of the older order or to an irrationalism which contentedly writes meaningless rhetoric." Raven sums up the matter with the rather drastic conclusion that the theology of crisis is reducing Christianity "to the level of an improved Mithraism."

In orienting his biological studies to the religious problems of today, the author describes the early period of Darwinism and the first stages of the conflict over evolution, which he calls "a tempest in a Victorian teacup." Coming more directly to the problem in the chapter entitled "The Intellectual Task: Integrity," Raven declares that science, like the other elements of a *Weltanschauung* including religion, is "suffering from the effects of a period of rapid transition." This accounts for the conflict, the most serious effect of which is precisely that it destroys the possibility of an integrated *Weltanschauung*, and that means the possibility of integrated human personality. Science must admit the relativity of its conclusions because of the acknowledged relativity of its measures of investigation. It will, therefore, confess that the world of scientific knowledge is no more objective than the world of the theologian.

Raven's constructive suggestions follow the lines already indicated in his book *Creator Spirit.* Christianity centers around the idea of divine historic

evolution: "Creation is Incarnation and Incarnation is Sanctification; the Divine Being manifests himself in these three modes, and the three are one."

CARL E. BETH

PSYCHOLOGY AND THE CHURCH

IN SEARCH OF MATURITY, *by* FRITZ KUNKEL. *Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.75.*
THE CHURCH AND PSYCHOTHERAPY, *by* KARL R. STOLZ. *Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, $2.50.*

FRITZ KUNKEL'S first book to be written in English deserves the widest possible reading. The religious elements in his thought, always implicit, are for the first time made explicit. The author's sub-title is "An Inquiry into Psychology, Religion and Self-Education."

Over the past twenty years the author's psychological position has moved from that of Alfred Adler, through one similar to Otto Rank's, to the present one which closely resembles Carl Jung's. In no previous work has the Jungian element been so strong. But whereas Jung has always been cordial to religion but wary of Christianity, Kunkel shows himself to be basically Christian as well as religious in his approach.

The volume outlines a religious psychology, building up its case from chapter to chapter. Dr. Kunkel calls his psychological approach "We-Psychology," and he considers the We-experience (which he calls man's "humanity" but is not to be confused with humanitarianism) the essence of it. Many of his terms are either neologisms or are common terms to which he gives special meaning; hence a restatement of his thesis encounters difficulties. One might say his thesis is that man has a real self, that it is obscured by his basic sin which is resisting growth, that maturity comes in proportion as creativity of the essential self is permitted to operate, and that the way of bringing this about is through the refined We-experience.

At several points the author surpasses anything else in print on the relation of psychology and religion. The clear statement, for instance, that psychology goes beyond natural science in the usual sense; the exposition of the central function of religion in character development; the criticism of "sweetness and light" forms of religion; the recognition of the centrality of the problem of the self; and the place of negative as well as positive elements in characterology — these and others are very significant.

At some other points it is necessary to be critical. The final section, on religious self-education, is disembodied. In actuality, this process has to shuttle between real life situations on the one hand and some abstractions (as few as possible) on the other. Here it is all abstractions. To say, as the author does, that he deals here only with principles, having dealt in other writings with life situations, does not meet the point. It is legitimate for Dr. Kunkel to make this book more systematic and abstract than previous ones,

but he has left the way wide open for readers to take the abstractions as the total reality, which they certainly are not.

To use William James' term, one wonders whether the author has entirely forgotten some of the "tough-minded" elements which so illuminated his earlier translated writings. His large use of neologisms, most of them certainly metaphorical to him, may not be so recognized by all readers. He does not deal as much as would be desirable with the destructive side of creativity. Finally, and perhaps most important, he seems not to have a basic view of the importance of sociology to psychology; cultural patterns are not seen as such — whereas a wholly integrated view could not omit constant reference to the cultural pattern aspect of personality growth.

The book is deeply probing and provocative; and without question represents the outline of a penetrating psychology based on Christian principles. It will undoubtedly be one of the most important books of the year.

The Church and Psychotherapy is the last volume written by the late Dean of the Hartford School of Religious Education. Karl R. Stolz, who taught English Bible, nevertheless devoted most of his writing to matters linking psychology and religion. His first important work in the field was *Pastoral Psychology* ,written in the early thirties, and dealing with ministry to individuals. The second, *The Psychology of Religious Living*, in the late thirties, attempted to define in psychological terms what living as a growing Christian should mean. The present volume takes its point of departure from the "making whole" task of the church, and follows through its ramifications: prayer, preaching, religious education, and the like. A fourth of the book is devoted to Jesus' ministry to individuals.

The volume is misnamed. The word "psychotherapy" is a technical term which does not define what the author is writing about. His reference is to the general healing and shepherding functions of the Christian group and its clergy. The thesis is that "the Christian Church has an almost unlimited therapeutic value of which multitudes stand in need . . . but we have not sufficiently developed the possibilities of the Church as a functioning therapeutic body, nor given adequate attention to its hygienic and healing mission." It is carried out through reference to a wide variety of tasks and beliefs which are within the church's proper purview.

With the central thesis one must heartily agree. Commendation is also in order for the balance of the treatment. It is also important to recognize how many of the basic points rediscovered by the modern dynamic psychologies have been at least implicit in Christian theory and practice. Yet somehow one has the feeling that Dean Stolz saw dynamic psychology only from the outside. At several points, for instance, he states an excellent principle in the abstract; and then, in giving a case illustration, applies a faulty principle of interpretation or therapy. Without holding a brief for Freud,

one may justifiably challenge several sweeping statements like the following, "Freudian psychotherapists go so far as to instruct their patients to transfer their affections to their healers." Taken in the literal sense, this statement is untrue, and hence should have been qualified or elaborated. Valuable though the book is in many ways, one might wish that there had been more perception of constructive modern psychology from the inside and a little more explanation of processes instead of categorical definition of them.

Dean Stolz has, through his writings, done excellent service in reminding churchmen of their obligation to use every possible resource in their ministry to specific needs of men, and this representative volume from his pen ably supplements the other two.

SEWARD HILTNER

A THOMIST DEFENSE OF FREEDOM

THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND NATURAL LAW, *by* JACQUES MARITAIN. *Translated by* DORIS C. ANSON. *Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.50.*

THIS book of 119 pages focuses Maritain's religious and political philosophy upon the rights of man from the familiar standpoint of his Thomist theology. It starts with God and his created souls in the absolute relations which constitute personality of the transcendent order. It goes on to the realization of human rights in the temporal order under the conception of a harmony of individual and common good and of natural law rationally derivable from the nature of man in the social world. This law expresses the universal principles of the temporal order. The author's method throughout is strictly deductive. "Natural law deals with the rights and the duties which follow from the first principle 'Do good and avoid evil' in a *necessary* manner, and *from the simple fact that man is man*, nothing else being taken into account" (p. 69). From such transcendent insights and temporally universal and invariable principles Maritain's applications descend to the relativities of the law of nations (p. 70) and the still more relative provisions of positive law, for example as to the rights of property (p. 72): "The particular modalities of this right are determined by positive law." The book ends with an *International Declaration of the Rights of Man* adopted by the Institute of International Law.

While Maritain's strong defense of human rights is most welcome his method of establishing them is open to serious question. Besides the general doubtfulness of the competence of the purely deductive method, Maritain's position has certain obvious weaknesses. First of all, only the relations of "pure persons" are harmonious, so that the good of society and each person would be one and the same (p. 11). In actual society these goods conflict and rights are not accorded without struggle. Second, the reasonable and

deductively universal natural law is not only challengeable but is widely challenged by mankind in history. In the realm of the relatives, which covers concrete human situations, its deductive invariability fails to work. The strength of this alleged Samson becomes no more than the strength of any other man.

Does this not mean that Maritain has given too little recognition to the genesis and support of rights in concrete historical movements and their maintenance through the mores of peoples as embodying long-term social decisions, as over against the individual consent theory of Rousseau? "You were slaves in Egypt; you were delivered"; "Christ made you free; be not entangled again in the yoke of bondage"; "Our fathers brought forth . . . a new nation . . . dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. We are now engaged in a great war. . . ." Rights grew out of an objective historical order formed by such actions. The tradition of freedom thus became embodied in social habit, guaranteed ultimately, of course, by God, but concretely and historically by an exercise of collective will, determining principles which ought to be universal but unfortunately never have been. Rights consequently are things to be prized and maintained rather than demonstrated.

And if they are to be traced back into the nature of things, may they not as legitimately be founded upon the fact that God loves men individually as upon the thesis that he has separately endowed a race of creatures with any inalienable attribute? And may not their sanction lie more truly in a continuous creative striving than in a static constitution of the universe?

HARLAN PAUL DOUGLASS

OTHER REVIEWS

CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION, *by* H. G. WOOD. *The Macmillan Company, $1.25.*

ANY subject to which Professor Wood turns his pen is certain to be illumined by keen insight, discernment and a fine balance. The themes which occupy him in this small book are not novel — the relations of Christianity to scientific humanism, Marxist philosophy, the problems of the co-operative commonwealth and international order. Their treatment claims no special originality. To those familiar with the superabundant literature in this field, Dr. Wood's discussion will hold interest primarily because of its judicious objectivity and because of certain shifts in his own outlook which are here disclosed. Like most Englishmen, his estimate of things Russian has suffered radical modification in the past three years. Even his judgment on the Marxist philosophy is noticeably more generous than in his earlier *Christianity and Communism*, although he differs from many current British admirers in retaining severe strictures against the Marxist

theory of class-war and the Marxist account of religion. To those for whom the topics here canvassed hold some novelty, Dr. Wood's compact little book offers a concise, readable and trustworthy introduction.

HENRY P. VAN DUSEN

ANGLICANISM AND SOUTH INDIA, *by* LEONARD HOGDSON. *Cambridge: at The University Press: New York: The Macmillan Company, 30c.*

DR. LEONARD HODGSON is well known as secretary of the Continuation Committee of the Faith and Order Movement. His little pamphlet now under review is an amplification of an article which appeared in the Spring, 1939, issue of CHRISTENDOM, with a view to justifying the South India Scheme of Union from the standpoint of Anglican theological principles.

Dr. Hodgson, it will be recalled, took a stiff stand on episcopal succession and the administration of sacraments by "a ministry ordained through episcopal succession of bishops." Intercommunion, when such ordination was not held by the officiating minister, would be a falsification of the fact, a misuse of the symbol of unity where unity did not exist. He did however see valid ground for an exception in the case of gatherings assembled for the purpose of "setting forward the cause of unity." At such gatherings a foretaste of what accomplished unity would secure was permissible. Christians might commune together at an Anglican altar and Anglicans take communion at non-Anglican altars.

In the case of South India, Dr. Hodgson feels the same principles would apply and would permit reciprocal open communion between the elements of the United Church, because by the end of a generation all the ministers of the United Church will be episcopally ordained. The "period of irregularity" would simply be somewhat prolonged, but it would disappear with the passage of time.

THE GLORY OF GOD, POEMS AND PRAYERS FOR DEVOTIONAL USE, *by* GEORGIA HARKNESS. *Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, $1.00.*

IN MORE peaceful years Dr. Harkness' book would have enjoyed the more generous type and the wider margins which it well deserves. But whatever its form might have been, its inner grace is that of unpretentiousness. The true test of a book for devotional use is, of course, use, and Dr. Harkness' poems and prayers stand this test. For one who will surrender to a simple and devout mood, the nature poems will make autumn more golden and winter less harsh. The hymns have resonant words, and in the main the phrasing is not so subtle that they cannot be sung. Many of the prayers are suitable for public use. They sustain the special attitudes necessary in liturgical writing with the corresponding fitness of form and language. Those who

have known Dr. Harkness well will discern a special gallantry of spirit and perhaps an autobiographical note in the poems which tell of the struggle with ill health. The prayers voice a wide range of human needs but well maintain throughout the sense of corporate experience, and are, in that sense, genuine prayers of the church as well as expressions of a single heart.

CONCERNS OF A WORLD CHURCH, *by* GEORGE WALKER BUCKNER, JR. *The Bethany Press, St. Louis, $1.25.*

DR. BUCKNER is editor of the *World Call*, a publication of the International Convention of Disciples of Christ, and executive secretary of the Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity. He finds the concerns of the world church exceedingly manifold, proliferating in groups of challenging problems arising from the complexity and disorganization of the world. They pertain alike to the realms of Christian faith and of Christian service, within the framework of the aspiration for unity. Dr. Buckner surveys in editor fashion the critical issues which have emerged along the far-flung Christian front. Few are the interests of the modern church which are not glimpsed and treated with at least a well-considered paragraph. Here then is a wise outlook, expressed on a wide variety of specifics of Christian duty, and implemented by a sense of responsibility for the direction of Christian action.

FORCE AND FREEDOM. REFLECTIONS ON HISTORY, *by* JACOB BURCKHARDT, *edited by* JAMES HASTINGS NICHOLS. *Pantheon Books, Inc., $3.50.*

THIS substantial book of 370 pages is the first appearance in English of a compilation of notes from three lecture courses delivered by Burckhardt at the University and Museum of Basle in 1870–71. Its current interest is due to the uncanny foresight with which he predicted the rise of totalitarian states such as emerged two thirds of a century later.

History for Burckhardt is a series of "styles of life," expressing the varied reciprocal relations of the "three powers," the state, religion, and culture. Culture is "the sum of all that has *spontaneously* arisen for the advancement of material life as an expression of spiritual and moral life. . . . It is the realm of the variable, free, not necessarily universal, of all that cannot lay claim to compulsive authority" (p. 107). Thus culture is outside of the proper realm of control either by church or state.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, Burckhardt writes, the conflict between state and culture has been deepening and the future of this conflict fills him with deep foreboding. This constituted the crisis of his hour.

The state, he predicted, will constantly expand its claims, because "power is of its nature evil, whoever wields it. It is not stability but a lust,

and *ipso facto* insatiable" (p. 184). The result will be not only its claim to "an ever-increasing and more comprehensive power of coercion" (p. 227) but "absolutely everything that people feel or know Society will not undertake is simply heaped on the daily growing burden of the State. At every turn needs grow, bearing their theories with them, and not only needs but debt . . ." (p. 228). Finally the whole physiognomy of existence is fixed by the state. This is precisely the meaning of totalitarianism as we see it fulfilling itself today. Burckhardt's perspective could only look to the far future for an ultimate reaction and the return of cultural freedom reasonably adjusted both to church and state.

A Companion to the Communion Service. A Devotional Manual, *by* W. Robinson. *Oxford University Press, $1.00.*

THIS is a beautifully written little book, distinctive in that it expresses a very high view of sacramental devotion, yet within the Reformed tradition. It recalls Calvin's intent to have the commmunion frequent and central in Christian worship and relates it to the practice of the weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper by the modern ecclesiastical group called Disciples of Christ, to which the author belongs. The book interprets the traditional order of the Eucharistic service as established about 150 A.D. which he finds is essentially followed not only in the historic Eastern liturgies but in the revised *Book of Common Order* of the Church of Scotland. Stress is laid upon the priestly worship of the whole church in the service of communion. While the corporate note is strongly struck, the book addresses itself to the individual, often changing the corporate "We" of the Scriptures and historical liturgies to the "I" of the individual communion — so that one is left in a little doubt at the end whether the book is fully the corrective of the subjectivism of the evangelical tradition which it sets out to be.

NOTES AND COMMENT

IN MEMORY OF "TED" HUME

WORLD-WIDE attention has been drawn to the tragic martyrdom of Rev. Theodore C. Hume in a flaming transport plane wantonly shot down by the Nazis over Sweden. He was on his way as a volunteer for service in the newly created department of reconstruction of the World Council of Churches, his own communion — the Congregational Christian — having made itself responsible for his support.

By heritage and training he was peculiarly and uniquely ecumenical. Born in British India where his family had a distinguished missionary record, he went early to China where his father was head of *Yale in China.* His education in America at Yale led to his being awarded a Rhodes Scholarship. He spent three years at New College and one at Mansfield in Oxford, studied in the Sorbonne, worked at the American Church in Paris and came back to become pastor of the New England Church in Chicago. From there he was called to the college church at Claremont, California, which charge he resigned to undertake work for the rehabilitation of European churches.

The last month of his life was spent in Oxford and London in conference and consultation regarding the work to which he was looking forward. So deep an impression did he make on the leaders of the British churches that after his death a memorial service was held for him at St. Martins-in-the-Fields, the Parish Church of the Royal Family, London. His body was recovered and the funeral took place in Stockholm with Archbishop Eidem presiding and the American Minister, Hon. H. V. Johnson, in attendance. A very largely attended memorial service, sponsored by the American section of the World Council, the Federal Council and the Congregational Christian Churches, was held in Calvary Church, New York City, on November seventeenth.

His journal letter to his American friends, written before he left London, has at its beginning the text: "They drew near to some country — and when they had gone a little further they sounded. . . ." Acts 27:27–28. Strangely prophetic are such words as one recalls the manner of his end on the coast of the land where he was to have begun his labor of love. But the candle he lighted in his fiery death is a beacon in the skies of tomorrow.

TAKING THOUGHT FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

A JOINT Committee on Religious Liberty constituted by the Federal Council of Churches and the Foreign Missions Conference, and combining earlier exploratory efforts made within each of these bodies, has been active since the spring of 1942. It was appointed because situations involving

religious liberties and calling for action or statement of position by Christian bodies in North America and by co-ordinate bodies abroad, are constantly arising, and because of the imminence of a new epoch of treaty-making and of new constitutions following the war. The Committee's area of study will be world-wide, including Europe with its varied problems under totalitarian, religiously controlled, or anti-Christian governments; the so-called mission regions, with their vast range of dominant non-Christian religions, colonial regimes, territories predominantly Roman Catholic in Latin America, and several colonies; the United States, with questions of religion in education, of minority positions and of conflicting judicial interpretations. Most of these matters have multi-national import, and therefore require exchange of materials and provision for collaboration, as far as practicable, with groups constituted in other lands.

The Committee now conceives its task as involving four phases: (1) factual analysis of specific areas of difficulty; (2) study of the history of religious liberty; (3) philosophical analysis of the issues arising; (4) recommendations as to effectual remedy or *ad interim* procedures. Attention has been given to each of these phases. The demand for a "Charter of Religious Liberties" representing an international consensus has been considered and the possibilities have been studied. Experts in international law have been consulted. Detailed study has been made of acute situations arising in different parts of the world against the background of national histories with respect to relations of church and state. The Committee has sought to classify these situations in terms of the patterns of social structure concerned and the issues arising therefrom. It is keeping in mind the need for developing a philosophy of religious liberty consistent with Protestant assumptions but conceived in such broad terms as to furnish a basis of co-operation with other faiths throughout the world.

A volume embodying the results of the study is now in process of preparation. Dr. M. Searle Bates, Far Eastern Consultant of the International Missionary Council, has been assigned the task of preparing the manuscript.

The following persons constitute the Committee: President John A. Mackay, chairman, and Drs. John S. Badeau, Emil Fischer, Norman J. Padelford, H. P. Van Dusen, and A. W. Wasson. Members of the staffs of the two organizations and the International Missionary Council are serving ex officio and collaborating in the Committee's research.

WORLD COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

Notes from Secretary Visser 't Hooft's Annual Survey

The "Experience" of the Church

THE most significant ecumenical fact of our time is that so many churches have learned again what the New Testament means by "trials" and

"tribulations." Churches which seemed so very much at home in an indifferent but at least tolerant world, suddenly find themselves in the midst of a life and death struggle. And in and through this struggle these churches, in so far as they do not shirk the battle, rediscover a number of very primitive, very essential Biblical truths which they had somehow forgotten in more peaceful times.

For according to the New Testament perspective tribulations are not accidents to be avoided. Nor are they merely occasions to demonstrate that the Church really lives by the faith which it proclaims. They have their very definite place in God's providence. They *do* something to the Church. They are God's way to deepen the faith of His people. The Church is chastened "for its profit" (Hebrews xii:10). Just as gold is not merely tested but also refined by fire, so the faith of the Church is not merely tried, but strengthened and purified through its sufferings. That is the great message which St. Paul brings in Romans 5:3–4. . . . The "experience" of which St. Paul speaks is a very unique and decisive experience. It consists in becoming aware in a very acute manner that it is truly possible to live by faith alone, that God is indeed a very present help in the hour of need in that He gives to His people at that time that unshakable certainty which they need to hold on.

We have the privilege to live in a time when these old Biblical realities are once more translated into life. During these last years a number of churches have gained this most precious "experience." Thus they have found a new certainty of faith, a new definiteness in their message, a new courage in their witness, very particularly in their concrete protest in the name of God against the crimes and injustices which are committed by the pagan powers which are ruling in many parts of the world today. In short, they have discovered that they can really live by faith and without the support of external conditions which they had considered indispensable.

This is a great *ecumenical* fact. For if there is any fellowship between the churches, this experience must have a bearing on the life of *all* churches, and on the ecumenical movement as a whole. If certain members of the body be honored in this manner (and according to the New Testament it is an honor), we should all rejoice with them. And rejoicing means certainly to share in the gifts which they have received. Rather than wondering why some churches have thus been tried while others have not, rather than pitying or envying each other, we should seek to appropriate for the whole fellowship what has been given to its "experienced" members. We should make sure that their experience becomes the experience of all.

That is not to say that all suffering churches have been transformed, for some which have not grasped their God-given opportunity have been found wanting. Nor is it to say that churches which have consciously been under

the Cross suddenly become model churches. But it does mean that there are members of the Body to whom a grace has been given which all of us need.

What will this new experience mean for the ecumenical movement? It will mean that its life will become more dangerous and more relevant.

More dangerous, for as our whole movement appropriates the experience of the tested churches, it will no doubt enter into a period of great tension. There will be the tension in the life of the movement itself which arises inevitably where deep convictions have taken root and where the question of truth has priority over all questions of opportunity or organization. There will also be a new tension in our relation to the world, for a tested church is a free church which renders its witness fearlessly in the face of all forms of human sin.

But also more relevant. For an "experienced" ecumenical movement will have a word for the world such as the world can hear nowhere else. It will not speak in hypothetic or opportunistic ways, but bring a certain word of God to a world which is torn in its mind between its uncertainty and its false certainties. It will have a new sense of proportion, more faith in God's slow but sure ways of working, and less faith in organization. And so it will be able to serve the world by confronting it with the radical choice between God's Judgment and God's Grace.

Our present task is to prepare the way for the birth of this "experienced" ecumenical movement. It is in this light that the following report should be read.

National Developments

In Hungary a new Ecumenical Council has been inaugurated during the visit of Pastor Nils Ehrenström in July 1943. It is composed of leaders of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches.

We can now say that the great majority of countries in which there are several churches participating in the ecumenical movement, have formed national councils of churches or ecumenical commissions which apply the very important truth that ecumenicity begins at home, and which thus help the World Council to strike roots in the life of the churches. Some of these bodies, such as the Joint Executive Committee in the United States or the Swedish Ecumenical Council, carry out a great program of ecumenical education; others, such as those in some of the occupied countries, cannot even hold a single meeting. But whether publicly or very personally, all are working for the building up of the Una Sancta and preparing for the day when they can once more make its existence visible to the world.